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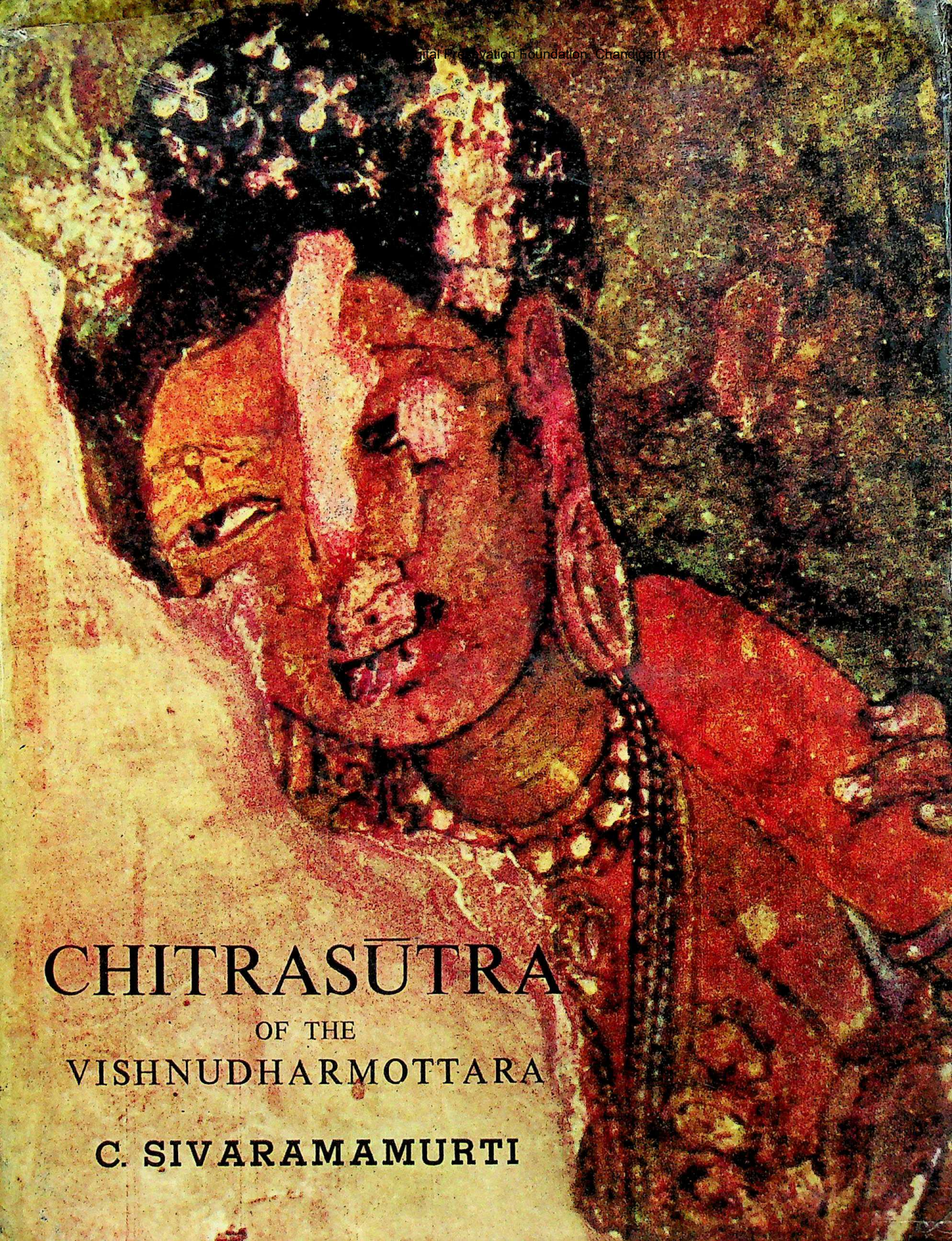

CHITRASŪTRA

OF THE VISHNUDHARMOTTARA

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

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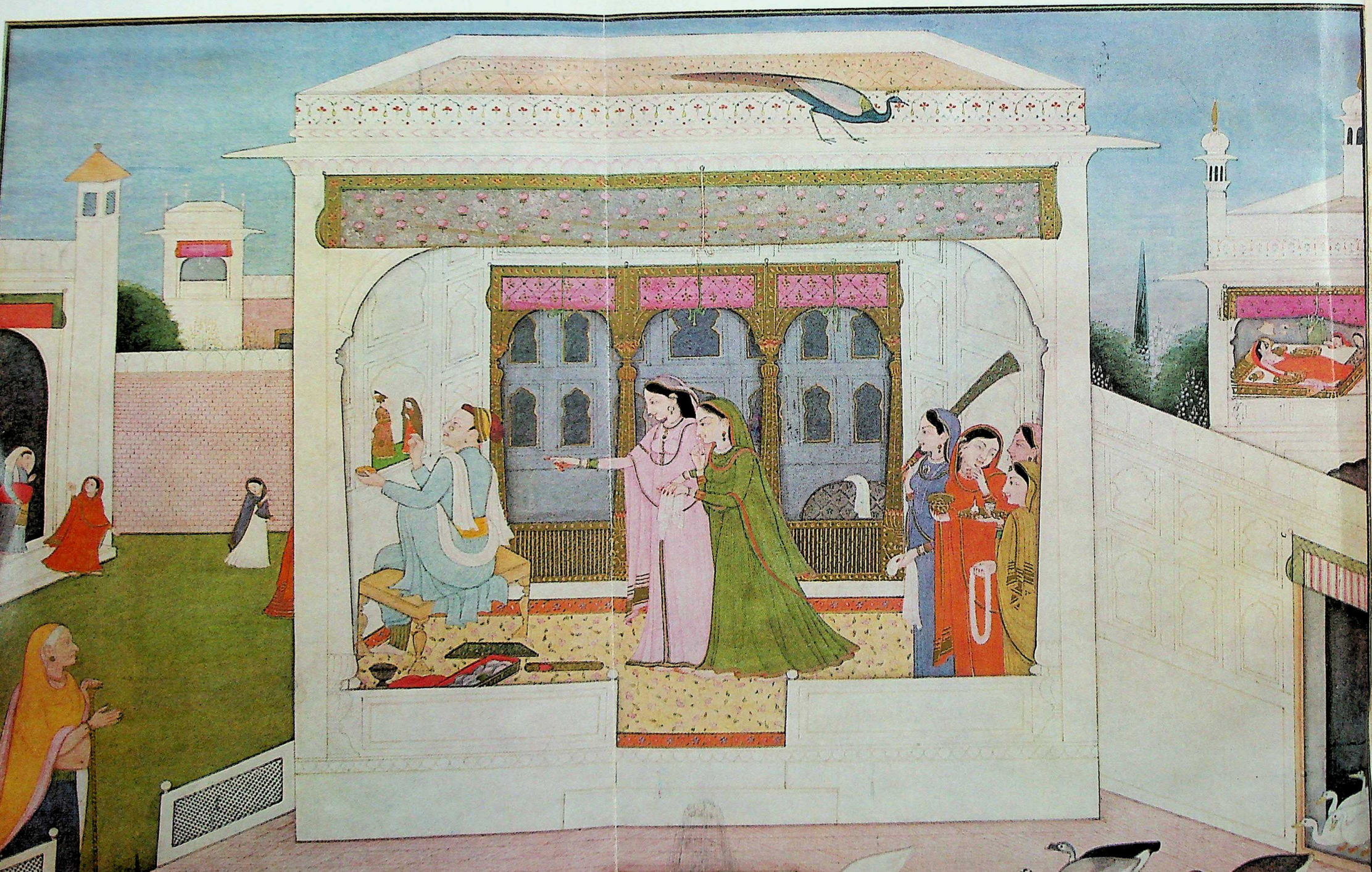
Frontispiece Damayanti watches her painter paint the portrait of herself and Nala in her palace, Kāngrā painting, 18th century A.D., Dr. Karan Singh's collection.



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C. SIVARAMAMURTI

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affectionately to my uncle
C. Chandrasekhara Sastri B.A.,F.M.U.
1854-1887

First Principal and Professor of English and Sanskrit of the Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram, who lovingly brought up and educated my father, his brother, as he did with the same affection and zeal scores of unacquainted indigent students craving for knowledge, and so lived a life of complete sacrifice and dedication in an all too brief existence of just thirtythree summers, that the memory of his name as a distinguished educationist is ever green in Andhra Pradesh.

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FOREWORD

With as much charm as erudition Dr. Sivaramamurti has brought up to date our understanding of the *Chitrasūtra* or "The Rules of Painting" of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. This unique treatise on painting kept me spellbound when searching the *Purāṇas* for references to art. A statement in the *Vishṇudharmottara* (*VDh*. 3. 2. 4) preceding the *Chitrasūtra*, came almost as a revelation: "It is very difficult to understand the rules of painting without a knowledge of dancing."

A trained awareness of movement underlies the *Chitrasūtra*. The awareness has for its objects not only the voluntary postures and gestures of body and limbs but also the movement of the breath within the body. In order to show the former, the rules of foreshortening are taught, in order to show the latter, subtleties of shading had to be mastered by which the body and limbs were given not only deceptively volumetric fulness but their planes appeared as if expanding by breathing and throbbing with the pulsations of life. Moreover the dancer's experience of the flux of movement carried by the body was communicated to the quality of the line, its flowing continuity and modelling sinuosity.

To this day, after about a millennium and a half, the contents of the *Chitrasūtra* have remained fresh in the immediacy of their observations. The validity of the rules of the *Chitrasūtra* have been put to the test by comparison with extant works of art; and greater clarity on more than one point has been obtained during the last half century. Even so, some points will have to await further documentation that may be hidden in some as yet unknown spot.

If, as the text shows and Dr. Sivaramamurti stresses, realism was a main consideration with thc painters, their criteria of verisimilitude were, no doubt, met in practice, although no object painted in the

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murals of Ajaṇṭā, which are roughly contemporary with the *Chitrasūtra*, would strike a spectator today as being realistically painted. The realism is in the eye of the beholder and the pious stories told, *though not in the Chitrasūtra,* but elsewhere in Indian writings, of a lion, parrot, heroine, or king having been deceived by the lifelikeness of one or the other object have their equivalents in European literature as also in "trompe l'oeil" representations which are an intentional by-product of art, appreciated for its psychological rather than aesthetic effect.

The realism after which the Indian painter was striving, according to the *Chitrasūtra* consisted in painting waves, flames, smoke, and banners as if moving with the wind; in painting living beings, if asleep, as breathing with life and in painting the dead bereft of it. Infusion of the quality of life into the representation was the aim of the painter and not a mere depiction of the shape of things seen. The modelling quality of the line and the plasticity of modelling by color were the means for achieving a kind of 'pneumatic' life-likeness. This, and all the other prescriptions in the *Chitrasūtra* refer to the single objects or figures in a painting and not to the painting as a whole. Similarly, the single figure, — like a gem in its setting — is considered for its immaculateness of treatment. The context however in which the figure is to appear pictorially, is left undefined.

Its situation in nature, as seen and felt by the painter, is to be evoked animatedly and succinctly or, in Dr. Sivaramamurti's translation: "The painter should study the picture and mood of nature and depict the seasons as he sees around him by the flowers and fruits on trees and the joy or happiness of men, animals, and birds" (p 192) taking for granted that the artist would know how to integrate the scene and convey its implied experienced context by its composition.

The artist, as described in the *Chitrasūtra* would have been equipped with a repertory of figures, their shapes and colors as clearly defined as were their gestures, physiognomies, and costumes. The attention given to movement was based on a familiarity and understanding of the dance, a knowledge of which was mandatory for the painter. It gave him a direct visual perception of the controlled

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movement of body and limbs in addition to his direct inner experience of the movement of the breath that sustained the body in motion and at rest. In this respect the *Chitrasūtra* articulates two intimately connected sources that form a precondition for the knowledge of the Indian painter and have contributed to the particularly Indian quality of his paintings.

Part of the creative transformation of nature into art according to the *Chitrasūtra* is also the science of proportionate measurement, the application of the ideal norm to psysiognomical types, assuring elegance and consistency to the wide ranging repertory of figures, divine and human, the latter based on ethnic and social varieties, providing also for the abnormal and grotesque.

In order to display effectively figures at rest and in motion, foreshortening had to be mastered. To this purpose nine standard positions were described in detail, allowing for every possible intermediate stance and variation, allowing also for disproportionate figures to be included in the rules for correct proportions, for the figures were by no means schematic; their movements, as rigorously controlled as those of dancers, were made to appear spontaneous by a mastery of coordination of body, limbs, and facial expression. As the figures were modelled in color and line, their three dimensional effect, — if we were left only with the *Chitrasūtra* and without the actual paintings corresponding to this text, — would appear in a blank, for hardly ever is their background described otherwise than as "in conformity with nature". Water for example, is described "by an endless varieties of fishes, tortoises and the like" to which description has to be added the movement of its waves; and "mountains are to be shown with clusters of large boulders, mineral deposits, wild growth of trees, waterfalls and snakes", while "those engaged in gambling should be devoid of their upper garments, mad in their rush to stake everything —, the winners of the game merry and the losers downcast with grief."

While various settings and scenarios for the figures are described, their transformation into art is indicated only occasionally and then by suggestion as when it is said that "the well versed artist should

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show the sky as having no colour in particular but full of birds." The *Chitrasūtra* so to speak, takes by the hand one who wants to be an artist and opens his eyes to all the things he can see and is expected to paint.

The painter is left unaided by the words of the *Chitrasūtra* and— as to how, for instance, he should paint clusters of large boulders. In the paintings of Ajaṇṭā we see by what visual means he gave form to his way of seeing and knowing the mountains. The *Chitrasūtra* leaves much unsaid, and one is led to surmise that other manuels treated of the transformation of nature *in art* while the *Chitrasūtra* specialized in the treatment of the human figure or that problems of form were left to actual demonstration by a master while teaching his students how to paint, None would suspect, on having read the *Chitrasūtra*, that the clusters of large boulders — which depict mountains — were painted cubistically, and not in the least realistically. The cubic forms of the boulders build up a phantasmagoric architecture fit for celestials. Not ing is said, either, of the shadowless "chiaroscuro" of the figures moving in space, created by the illusion of their own volumes, their movements and glances. Nor is the "perspective" described which is created in these paintings that shows the figures as if coming toward the spectator. They do not follow optical perspective but conjure up a magical presence. The "realism" of the *Chitrasūtra* conveys a striving to extract the essentials of things seen while leaving untold their mode of conversion. Only the human figure is given a semblance of three dimensional extension and freedom of movement — in a pictorial space that is not dealt with in the text.

Cosidering the preoccuption of the *Chitrasūtra* with the human figure, Dr. Sivaramamurti seems right in attributing the classification of paintings, as given in the text, as being based on the treatment of the human figure. Every scholar who hitherto discussed this classification, found it enigmatic in one point or the other. If indeed the classification is not based on the painting or its linear composition, but on the appearance of the figures represented, Dr. Sivaramamurti's assumption would account for four varieties or styles of painting, in which the first variety, called *"satya"* or "real" would be distinguished by elongated limbs of the figures, the second variety showing no elon-

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gation of limbs, the third showing figures with well rounded and powerfully set limbs, while the fourth and "mixed" (*miśra*) variety would show a mixture of the three styles. This interpretation of the enigmatic classification could refer to different stylistic versions of one and the same theme and not only to the different proportions of the figures such as people of different ethnic stock having differently proportioned bodies, long limbed or squat. It could account for the ethereal shape of the figures in the Hāritī and Pañcika chapel of cave 2 Ajaṇṭā as compared with the stocky build of the figures of the *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* also in Cave 2 of Ajaṇṭā. Accordingly, the cast of the figures of the "*satya*" variety would also determine their surroundings between columns equally high, and thin as reeds. Whether the last named style could be considered a manneristic version of the "*satya*" style and why this style should be called "*satya*" are questions for which at present there is no answer. The *Chitrasūtra* was written definitely before the eighth century and most likely considerable earlier. Dr. Sivaramamurti suggests a date nearer the fourth than the third century.

If the text of the *Chitrasūtra* says little about form and style, it is as precise as it is exacting in matters of quality and technique. The criteria applied, however, refer only to line and modelling respectively. Precision, fluency and the modelling capacity of the line were prerequisites of a good painting. The line, swelling and dwindling in thickness as also the modelling in color as well as by shading reached a high degree of perfection in order to produce the effect of volumes "over which the eye seems to tumble up and down" in a diffuse light without shadows. These qualities of Indian painting, as in Ajaṇṭā, are unsurpassed. They belong to the treatment of the single figure whereas the *Chitrasūtra* is reticent in discussing their mode of pictorial connection which the artist employed and which can be seen, described, assessed and admired to this day in the original paintings. The *Chitrasūtra* had nothing more to say than "proper arrangement of figures in a picture is praiseworthy" and "crowding of figures by placing one in front of the other should be avoided." The nature however of the "proper arrangement" is not revealed. The painters knew it. They did not, however, avoid crowding of the figures or placing one in front of the other. "Appropriate stance, proportion, background,

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sweet execution and distinction, symmetry, semblance to the original and foreshortening are the eight merits in a picture" whereas "that is considered unpraiseworthy which shows any defect in stances, flaw in depiction of emotions, a vacant look, is smudgy and is devoid of life and movement." Neither the Sanskrit text nor Dr. Sivaramamurti's careful translation allow the reader to visualize the paintings to which the above criteria were applied. However the rules concerning the painting of the single figures, are seen in the paintings that have been pereserved to this day. For the rest, the *Chitrasūtra* teaches *what* to paint and far less *how* to paint coherently the wealth of things seen or prescribed so as to effect a transfer from the world of reality into the world of art.

The *Chitrasūtra* was less a manuel for practicing painters than a guidebook for the public. Śrī Kumāra, the author of a much later text, the *Śilparatna* said "I describe the methods of painting for the benefit of the ignorant." The *Chitrasūtra* does much more than that. In addition to the subjects to be painted and the mode of painting them the technique of wall painting is described in detail. By his precise translation Dr. Sivaramamurti has clarified the process of applying metal colors on a painting. In many places, throughout the *Chitrasūtra* he has restored the original sense, by a correction of the text where it had become corrupt. Over and above this rescue work, he has brought to his translation his immense knowledge, he has placed the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇudharmottara* into the living context of poetry, drama and inscriptions and has shown the validity of the critera of the *Chitrasūtra* by applying them to Indian art of all ages.

Stella Kramrisch

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

To Dr. Stella Kramrisch the world of scholarship in the aesthetic of Fine Arts owes a deep debt of gratitude not only for making the *Vishṇudharmottara* known as the one important source of the techniques and rhetoric of Art but also for giving a translation of it for effective understanding and utilization of the text. Unfortunately at that time it was a corrupt text from a faulty manuscript printed without a search for or collation of other manuscripts. The translation also, naturally, was faulty and misleading in several places. But this inevitable handicap does not in any manner detract from the importance of the discovery of the text or the dissemination of its knowledge by Dr. Kramrisch whose study was a signal service to Indian Art.

This was naturally followed by discussions of various aspects of the text by the most eminent scholars in the field like Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, K.P. Jayaswal and others. Years later Dr. Priyabala Shah did a great service to the scholarly world by editing and translating the *Vishṇudharmottara*. This time a number of manuscripts were secured, collated and the readings bettered.

Yet a technical text like this is bound to be an enigma in several respects. The text is yet not completely free from errors; and it can never be either. But there were some that yet could be clarified and corrected. The translation and interpretation also required looking into. The date of the text was another important factor to be discussed as there was quite a large element of internal evidence significantly luminous. The practical application of the text and the significance of the vast plastic and pictorial material in India in the light of the text of the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇudharmottara* cannot be underrated in evaluating the study of this valuable source book of Indian Art.

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From the days of my study of references to painting in general Sanskrit literature I have been fascinated by the treatment of art in the *Chitrasūtra*. When I was invited to deliver a series of lectures under the Tagore Chair in Humanities of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda in the faculty of Fine Arts from January 31 to February 4, 1977, I chose this fascinating subject for exposition

This book, *Chitrasūtra of the Vishṇudharmottara*, is thus the result of these lectures. I am grateful to the Baroda University and Dr. Parimoo, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, for inviting me to deliver these lectures. To Professor P.J Madan, Vice Chancellor, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, I am beholden for graciously according permission to get the lectures published with suitable illustrations. To Mr. Jayant Baxi of Kanak Publications, I am thankful for its expeditious release from the press in a form worthy of so delicate and aesthetie a theme with illustrations and format of book equally inviting. To the Archeological Survey of India, the National Museum, New Delhi, the Government Museum Madras, the Government Museum and Art Gallery Chandigarh, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Trivandrum, the Chitralaya, Mysore, the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the British Museum, London, I am most thankful for the photos illustrating the book. It is very kind of Mr. Shakti Malik to loan some half-tone blocks for the illustrations. The blocks for the colour plates have been very kindly lent by the Lalit Kala Academi and the National Museum. The Archaeological Survey of India has also kindly lent colour blocks for the picture on the cover. To them all I express my deep sense of thankfulness. Dr. M.K. Pal prepared the index with special zeal and I am most grateful to him for this. I cannot adequately express my gratitude to Dr. Karan Singh for graciously permitting the use of the Nala-Damayanti painting from his collection as an important illustration in the book. For blessing me with her illuminating foreword, I have no words to express how deeply grateful I feel to Dr. Stella Kramrisch who has watched my career from my student days with zest and exhorted me in my literary pursuits with an inborn generosity that is part of her nature.

New Delhi
November 1978

C. Sivaramamurti

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CHAPTER ONE

THE PLACE OF PAINTING AMONG THE ARTS

In India, where the highest philosophic concept was truth, auspiciousness and charm, *satyam*, *śivam*, *sundaram*, life itself was conceived as a happy and fruitful one, leading on to bliss or *ānanda* in *moksha*. And to *dharma* was given a very high place. *Dharma* is the ethical way of life. It is truthful, peaceful and charming, and therefore blissful. Every little act in life was charming. Thought itself was sublime, action pure, and utterance was delightful. The highest literature is the expression of man at his best, so also his highest action, whether poetic skill in picturesque word pictures, or the creation of *vyūhas* on the battlefield of the hero, or the erection of edifices worthy of man or deity with appropriate embellishment, or the grandeur of a festival celebrated by a village congregation, or even the glamour of ritual in the daily offering of worship in a temple accompanied by music and dance. The building up of the character of a great nation was achieved through the indefatigable efforts of *pāṭhakas* or the expounders of the famous national epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, with the theme of the noblest heroes and words of wisdom of sages like Vidura, Sanatsujāta, Bhīshma and others, by the exposition of whole sections from the *Mahābhārata* chosen for emphasising right conduct, right life.

It is against this background that Indian art, which, along with sister arts like dance, music and literature, was in ancient India a form of offering to the Almighty, has to be understood as a great creative offering, the most beautiful, attractive and edifying.

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A musician could have communion with the Infinite, *brahmasāyujya*, by his whole-hearted unison with the melody: *gītajño yadi gītena nāpnoti paramam padam, devasyānucharo bhūtvā tenaiva saha modate, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 18, 7. *pushpanaivedyadānebhyo nṛittadānam viśishyate .....devatārādhanam kuryād yas tu nṛittena dharmavit, sa sarvakāmān āpnoti mokshopāyam cha vindati, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 34, 35-39. Literary expression is the sound of the voice conveying the noblest thoughts and ideas through words and sentences uttered in such a way that it was a flowery speech, *pushpitā vāk*, which was itself an offering to God. With a posy of literary flowers obtained through His grace is made an offering to the Almighty as Śaṅkara puts it *tvadīyābhir vāgbhis tava janani vāchām nutir iyam, Saundarya-laharī*. Our hymnal literature can reveal the heights of perfection in this. In exactly the same manner, one of the noblest offerings to the Almighty was the art of sculpture and painting. If in the West, painters like Fra Filippo Lippi, who were monks, created masterpieces of art, it was not in a spirit of vanity or self-glorification, but as a sublime offering to God. Painting was, therefore, in ancient India, mainly a handmaid of religion. In the *Saundaryalaharī*, penance, devotion, various arts like painting, music, dance, etc., are all described by Śaṅkara as only modes of worship for glorifying the personality of the Almighty: *japo jalpas śilpam sakalam api mudrāvirachanā gatiḥ prādakshiṇyakramaṇam aśanādyāhutividhiḥ, praṇāmas samveśaḥ sukham akhilam ātmārpaṇadṛiśā saparyāparyāyas tava bhavatu yan me vilasitam, Saundaryalaharī* 27.

The painter in India was almost like a *yogī* lost in his art. In fact, for painting or preparing sculptural forms of deities, he had to reverently muse and visualise their *dhyānaślokas,* sit in a holy attitude of peace facing east and produce the picture with great devotion. The *Vishṇudharmottara* requires the artist to be restrained, wear immaculate apparel, salute the holy ones, pronounce auspicious utterances, bow to the deity, sit facing east and start painting contemplating on the deity: *chitrāyoge viśesheṇa śvetavāśā yatātmavān, brāhmaṇān pūjayitvā tu svasti vāchya praṇamya cha, prāṅmukho devatādhyāyī chitrakarma samācharet: Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 40, 11-13. It is almost like Patañjali describing in his *Mahābhāshya* Bhagavān Pāṇini seated facing east on *kuśa* grass with *kuśapavitra* on his finger

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commencing writing his *vyākaraṇa-sūtras: pramāṇabhūta āchāryo darbhapavitrapāṇis śuchyavakāśe prāṅmukha upaviśya mahatā prayatnena sūtrāṇi praṇayatisma.*

The painter was to be bright, smiling, carefree with ennobling thoughts always in his mind. There was a belief that a painting always took after its creator, *garishṭhagoshṭhīshvapyevam kila śrūyate yādṛiśas chitrakaras tādṛiśī chitrakarmarūparekhā, Viddhasālabhañjikā*, 1. Rājaśekhara repeats it again, *yādṛiśākāras chitrakaras tādṛiśākāram asya chitram iti prāyaśo vādaḥ, Kāvyamīmāmsā*, 10. The Indian painter was so engrossed in his art as an offering to God that he almost sought communion with the Almighty. He created his masterpieces not in a spirit of imposing his personality on an admiring world with a desire for personal honour and-fame, but obliterated himself, almost deriving supreme satisfaction in that his art was an offering to God, a *pūjāvidhāna* or a mode of worship.

The attitude of the painter in offering his paintings as a mode of worship is also reflected in the divine origin of the art itself narrated in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. To Vishṇu himself is attributed the exposition of the art of painting as he evolved the *aṅgahāras* in *nāṭya*. The *Mahābhārata* attributes all forms of knowledge including those of the fine arts to Vishṇu: *yogo jñānam tathā sāṅkhyam vidyās śilpādi karma cha, vedās śāstrāṇi vijñānam etad sarvam janārdanāt, Mahābhārata* 14, 139. When Nara and Nārāyaṇa were in deep meditation in the Badarī grove, celestial damsels were sent by Indra to disturb the peace of asceticism. Nārāyaṇa, nothing daunted, took a fresh maṅgo leaf and with its juice sketched on his thigh the most beautiful form of a nymph that at once sallied forth from it, appropriately styled Urvaśī, putting to shame every one of them by her superior grace and perfection of charm. Hence Kālidāsa's remark *ūrūdbhavā narasakhasya munes surastrī, Vikramorvaśīya* 1, 3. The *Vishṇudharmottara* gives the account, and the panel at Deogarh (Fig. 1) vividly illustrates this. Just as Śiva, the progenetor of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, taught it to Taṇḍu and Bharata and propagated it, Nārāyaṇa taught *chitra* to Viśvakarmā and spread its knowledge in the world: *nārāyaṇena muninā lokānām hitakāmyayā, praptānām vañchanārthāya devastrīṇām mahāmuniḥ, sahakārarasam gṛihya ūrau*

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chakre varastriyam, chitrena sa tato jata rupayukta varapsarah, yam drishtva vritditas sarva jagmus ta devayoshitah, evam mahamunih kritva chitram lakshanasamyutam, grahayamasa sa tada viśvakarmanam achyutam, Vishnudharmottara 3, 35, 2-5.

Walls with paintings could not be dreary, *na cha śunyam ivabhati yatra chitram pratishthitam, Vishnudharmottara* 3, 43, 26. It was considered essential and auspicious to get murals illustrating great themes painted by masters, well versed in the art, both in theory and practical application of aesthetic principles and techniques, *śastrajñais sukritair dakshais chitram hi manujadhipa, śriyam avahati kshipram alakshmim chapakarshati, Vishnudharmottara* 3, 43, 24. There were *chitrachāryas* (Fig. 2) on a par with *natyachāryas* in the royal court, working at contemporary pictures on the palace walls, painting familiar themes like the queen with all her retinue, rousing the curiosity of the king himself, *chitraśalam gata devi pratyagravarnarāgam chitralekham achāryasyavalokayanti tishthati, tataschopachārānantaram ekasanopavishtena bhartra chitragatāya devyah parijanamadhyagatām asannatarām tām prekshya devi prishta, Malavikagnimitra* 1. The *natyachārya* in the *Malavikagnimitra* defines a great master of dance as one who not only himself knows the theory and practice of *natya* to perfection, but also fully imparts his knowledge to the pupil, *śikshā kriyā kasyachid atmasamstha samkrantir anyasya viśeshayukta, yasyobhayam śadhu sa śikshakanam dhuri pratishthapayitavya eva, Malavikagnimitra* 1. It is not different in the case of the master of painting, *chitrachārya*. Bhoja is quite clear on this point, *budhyante ke'pi śastrartham ke chid karmani kurvate, karamalakavad yasman naikasya dvayam apyatah, na vetti śastravit karma na śastram api karmavit, yo vetti dvayam apyetat sa hi chitrakaro varah, Samarangasutradhara* 74.

In the classification of *Chitra*, *chitra*, sculpture in the round, was rated the highest, *ardhachitra* or sculpture in high or low relief, the next in order of excellence, and painting itself only after these two, and also accordingly styled *abhasa* or semblance of sculpture, with the third dimension lacking in reality but suggested by a technique calculated to create an optical illusion. Painting made up for its deficiency in other ways, its glory of colour and chiaroscuro

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and sometimes by a sculpturesque treatment as in Michael Angelo's figures in the Sistine chapel. Painting was considered more delicate and handy and was more favoured in reality. What was lacking in painting, the depth, was almost magically created by the painter by means of his methods of shading, technically styled *vartana*, and elaborated in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. Kshemendra, himself a polymath, who styled himself *vyāsadāsa* in his tremendous appreciation of the encyclopaedic knowledge of Vyāsa, was the most appropriate and authoritative exponent of Vyāsa, whose work is usually believed to describe everything covered anywhere and more, as what was absent in it could be scarcely found elsewhere, *yad ihāsti tad anyatra yannehāsti na tad kvachit*. He quotes a verse as from the *Mahābhārata* to prove the encyclopaedic knowledge of Vyāsa which includes a mastery of the technique of painting as well. The glory of painting, *chitrakarma*, and of the masters of its techniques, *chitrakarmavids*, is in a rare verse that Kshemendra quotes in his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* as from the *Mahābhārata*. The most proficient can always present even myths as realities like masters well acquainted with the techniques of painting who create the illusion of depths and heights on a plain surface: *atathyānyapi tathyāni darśayanti vichakshaṇāḥ, same nimnonnatānīva chitrakarmavido janāḥ*. This is a description of one of the greatest technical triumphs in the art of painting, the mastery of chiaroscuro, *nimnonnata* and *varṇachchhāyā* achieved by the threefold *vartana*, *patra*, *raikhika* and *bindija* (Fig 3).

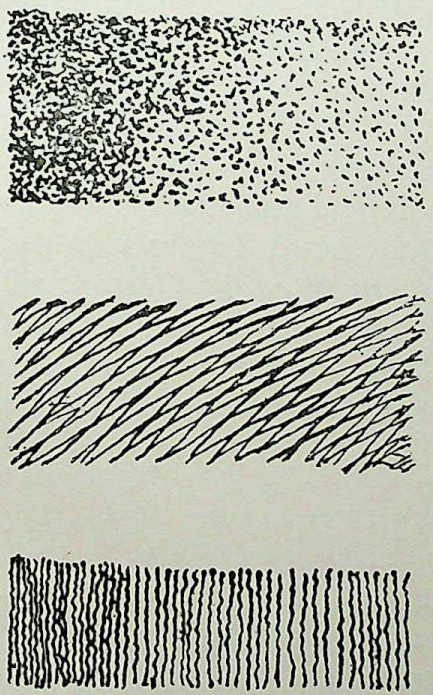

Fig. 3. Threefold *vartanā*, *bindija* stippling, *patra* cross-hatching, *raikhika* fine lineation.

There was yet another technique mastered by the ancient Indian painter, the principle of foreshortening, which enabled him to represent projection and recession, diminishing of size to set proportions of visual intake following the laws of perspective, *kshayavṛiddhi* as it was known which settled the standard angle of

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view, *rijjvāgata*, *anṛiju*, *ardharju*, etc., discussed in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, as in several other works that describe *chitra*, like the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, *Śukranītisāra*, *Chitralakshaṇa*. This advance in the methodology of painting has given it an added advantage to hold a distinguished place among fine arts. The laying of colours and their manipulation in producing subtle shades in a manifold presentation of *varṇasaṅkara* or mixing of colours, which Bāṇa has fully enjoyed distinguishing and describing in detail almost as a commentary on his line *chitrakarmasu varṇasaṅkarāḥ*, *Kādambarī*, p. 10., has also in no small measure contributed to this honoured position accorded to painting. *Varṇasaṅkara* itself according to the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* which refers to it as *varṇasamyoga* is of two kinds, gradation of the same colour from light to shade or vice versa, in which blending is the major purpose, and mixing of different colours to produce the desired effect by a variety and variation of tints: *ujjvalam pronnate sthāne śyāmalam nimnadeśataḥ, ekavarṇe'pi tam kuryāt tāratamyaviśeshataḥ, miśrān varṇān atho vakshye varṇasamyogasambhavān, Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*. This is different from *varṇakrama*, the colour scheme in a painting, the balancing of the tints to achieve colour harmony, a term used in this sense by Hāla Sātavāhana in his *Gāthāsaptaśatī* 7, 12. *varṇakramarahitasyāpyesha guṇaḥ kevalam chitrakarmaṇaḥ*.

The painter was an adept in literature and allied arts like music and dance. Naturally the paintings that he did vibrated with expression from all these. The *Vishṇudharmottara* lays down: *vinā tu nṛittaśāstreṇa chitrasūtram sudurvidam, ātodyena vinā nṛittam vidyate na kathañchana, na gītena vinā śakyam jñātum ātodyam achyuta, gītam pāṭhavaśājjñeyam sa cha pāṭho dvidhā mataḥ, gadyapadyāvubhau tena jñeyau lakshaṇasamyutau* (3, 2, 4-6-8-10-13).

The painter was an adept in drawing. His lines were steady and even. It is said in the *Vishṇudharmottara* that the great masters, *āchāryas*, valued most the line drawing composing the picture. There were others among the masters who also paid great attention to the creation of an illusion of depth by shading. Women generally preferred ornamentation in a picture and the general spectator revelled in colour, *rekhām praśamsantyāchāryā vartanām apare jaguḥ, striyo*

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bhūshaṇam ichchhanti varṇāḍhyam itare janāḥ, Vishṇudharmottara 3, 41, 11. The lines, however, composing a picture, were laid in as laconic a manner as probably the *sūtrakāras* like Pāṇini, who enjoyed economy of even a single syllable as the joy of a son born. The artist and the art critics appreciated the best effect in a picture captured by the minimum of lines composing the figure (Fig. 4). In the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* occurs the remark of the *vidūshaka* that the painting looks complete with even a minimum of drawing, *api laghu likhiteyam dṛiśyate pūrṇamūrtiḥ.*

The *chitrasūtra* has paid the highest tribute to the painter who can with ease paint the rolling waves (Fig. 5), darting flames (Fig. 6, 7), smoky streaks (Fig. 8), fluttering banners and Apsarases floating in the sky (Fig. 9, 10), indicating the direction and movement of the wind (Fig. 11, 12), *taraṅgāgniśikhādhūmam vaijayantyapsarādikam, vāyugatyā likhed yas tu vijñeyas sa tu chitravit, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 43, 28. It also reckons as a great master one who can draw accurately a chosen subject clearly indicating it as asleep or unconscious or dead as the case may be (Fig. 13): *suptam cha chetanāyuktam mṛitam chaitanyavarjitam, nimnonnatavibhāgam cha yaḥ karoti sa chitravit, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 43, 29. In this context we may recall the Chinese story, quoted by Barnard Lintott, of the artist who sketched a sleeping pig over and over again only to get his pictures being taken every time to represent a dead pig till finally one sketch made even an ignorant peasant recognise it as the sleeping animal. "There is to an unobservant person no difference between a

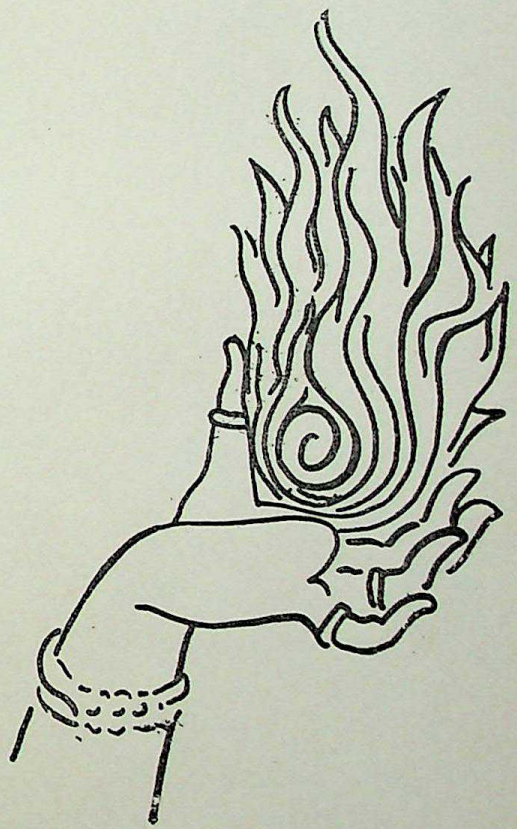

Fig. 6 Flames of fire held by Naṭarāja, Choḷa, 1000 A.D.

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Fig. 5. Rāma challenging the ocean with its surging waves, by Ravi Varma, Chitrālaya, Mysore.

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Fig. 9. Celestials moving in the sky, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajaṇṭā.

dead pig and a sleeping pig, but to the draughtsman there is the difference between life (however somnolent) and death. The difference is felt rather than seen and a drawing which has not conveyed this difference is a bad drawing. It is not until one has tried paint a sunset, and a sunrise, that one appreciates the difficulty. The greatest stumbling block is the one of drawing and painting the difference between light which is dying and light which is growing." The Art of Water Colour Drawing, pp. 41-42.

The painter was an adept in literature and allied arts like music and dance. Naturally the paintings that he did vibrated with expression from all these. The *Vishṇudharmottara* lays down that, as in dance so in painting, there is to be a close observation and reproduction of the world around us in as charming a style as possible, *yatha nṛitte tathā chitre trailokyānukṛitis smṛitā*.

A vivid picture of the painter in ancient India is given in the remark of the *vidūshaka* in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, who compares himself, surrounded by a number of dishes with different

Fig. 10. Celestials moving in the sky, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajaṇṭā.

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Fig. 7. Kṛishṇa swallowing the forest fire, Kāngrā, 18th century, National Museum, New Delhi

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items of cooked food from which he would taste a little from each, to a painter at work encircled by a number of colour pans from each of which he would just take a little to paint on the canvas: *yo nāmāham tatrabhavatas chārudattasya ṛiddyhāhorātram prayatnasiddhair uddāmasurabhigandhibhir modakair eva aśitābhyantarachatuśśālakadvāra upavishṭo mallakaśataparivṛita chitrakara ivāṅgulībhis spṛishṭvā spṛishṭvāpanayāmi, Mṛichchhakaṭika* 1. A Pahāri miniature of the Kāngrā school (Fig. 14) shows a painter at work with the colour pans surrounding him, remarkably answering this word picture. This is indeed a great satisfaction, as even the most graphic verbal description cannot but fall short of the vivid impression of a glimpse at a picture that portrays the visual form of a craftsman whose influence on the aesthetic vision and taste of the connoisseur world was indeed considerable.

The painter's work started with a preliminary sketch known as the *hastalekha* (Fig. 15) which determined the final approved picture (Fig. 16). It was also known as a *varṇaka* (Fig. 17), a term occurring in the *Kuṭṭanīmata* to describe the beautiful city of Banaras created by Viśvakarmā, the great architect of the universe, as a sample of his handiwork and capacity to create artistic things to convince Brahmā of his ability to create the three worlds: *tribhuvanapuranishpādanakauśalam iva pṛichchhato viriñchasya, darśayitum nijaśilpam varṇakam iva viśvakarmaṇā rachitam, Kuṭṭanīmata*, 177. The *varṇaka*, at the stage of colouring, and hence more advanced than the *hastalekha,* at least partially denoted final details in miniature. The beautifully prepared painting reveals the master who created it. Beyond the technicalities of its preparation, there is something more vital that makes a picture a great masterpiece, and this is the *kauśala* or the special dexterity of the artist mentioned in the *Vakroktijīvita: chitrasyeva manohāri kartuḥ kim api kauśalam.* The painter could idealise and probably better present the beauty of anything in nature by his lofty treatment. In the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* it is said that imperfection, if any, could be idealised in art: *yad yat sādhu na chitre syāt kṛiyate tattad anyathā.*

The painter closely followed ideal standards in his creative work as an artist; a picture really got life infused into it at the last stage of eye

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opening. The eyes of the figures in the picture could be opened only finally which infused life into them. That is why the *Kumārasambhava* describes the bloom of youth in Pārvatī that made her vivacious comparable to a picture after the opening of the eyes of the figures or the lotus with the petals opening up by the warmth of the solar rays: *unmīlitam tūlikayeva chitram sūryāmśubhir bhinnam ivāravindam.* Rājānaka Ratnākara describes the paintings, on the walls of the deserted palaces of vanquished enemy kings, brought to a point of finish, but left in that state without the final touches laid on them, and allowed to fade away, and alludes to them as *anunmīlita* in the phrase *unmīlanāvasaraśūnyadṛiśaḥ* since their eyes remained unopened: *yasyābhiyātibhavaneshvasamāptachitrasambhārabhittipurushā malinībhavantaḥ, unmīlanāvasaraśūnyadṛiśas samiddhām dadhyur divāniśam iva śriyam avyavasthām, Haravijaya* 16, 65. It is this that is meant in the lines *śūnyadṛishṭimalīmasam chetanārahitam* of the *Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 43, 20.

Murals were highly valued as aesthetic, decorative and educational factors. Royal palaces and houses of noblemen, the *prāsādas* or temples were all decorated with paintings. What were forbidden in private residential buildings were specially recommended for public halls, palaces and temples. Themes were appropriately chosen and represented in common households, and more in mansions as well as in temples, and with a special purpose. This was all in the best interest of *dharma*, as everything in India was motivated by *dharma; dharmāviruddho bhūteshu kāmo'smi bharatarshabha* (*Bhagavadgītā*) says Kṛishṇa. Certain themes of celestials including the lapses of Indra and the *ṛishis* were confined to temples and public halls and palaces. There was a variety of religious, social, narrative scenes and the changing picturesque scenery around during the different seasons and so on prescribed for households. In describing the painting gallery in the palace of Nala, Śrī Harsha mentions the themes like the episodes from the epics and the *Purāṇas* including the failings of Indra portrayed on the walls: *chitrabhittilikhitākhilakramā yatra tasthur itihāsasankathāḥ, Naishadhīyacharita* 18, 20. Bāṇa mentions glorious picture galleries in Ujjayinī filled with themes of Devas, Asuras, Nāgas, Yakshas, Kinnaras and so forth prominently displayed in their special iconographic forms and in interesting

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situations. In the *Uttararāmacharita* there is a magnificent picture gallery got ready by Lakshmaṇa with episodes from Rāma's life to regale Sītā, the queen of Ayodhyā. The pictures are so beautiful that in some places Rāma and Sītā are almost transported to those situations once more, so clever is the painter Arjuna who prepared them. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, a painting in the palace first introduces the King Agnimitra to the charms of Mālavikā. The *Vishṇudharmottara* lays great stress on the auspicious nature of pictures in a household. Only themes illustrating certain *rasas* like *śṛiñgāra*, *hāsya* and *śānta* are recommended. The rest like *raudra*, *vīra*, *bhayānaka*, *bībhatsa*, *karuṇa* are eliminated, though all of them have their place in temples and public halls of royal palaces, the residential royal mansions also being subject to the exclusion of those forbidden in all other homes in general: *śṛiñgārahāsyaśāntākhyā lekhanīyā gṛiheshu te, paraśeshā na kartavyā kadāchid api kasyachit, devaveśmani kartavyā rasās sarve nṛipālaye, rājaveśmani no kāryā rājñām vāsagṛiheshu te, sabhāveśmasu kartavyā rājñām sarvarasā gṛihe, varjayitvā sabhām rājño devaveśma tathaiva cha, yuddhasmaśānakaruṇāmṛitaduḥkhārtakutsitān, amaṅgalyāmścha na likhet kadāchid api veśmasu, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 43, 11-14. The *Śilparatna* assures that auspicious stories from the *Vedas*, *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* and pictures from *dhyānaślokas* painted in appropriate colours, proportions and moods (*rasas*) yield excellent results to both the master of the house and the artist: *svāgamākhilavedādipurāṇoktakathānvitam, nānāvarṇānvitamram yam na nyūnam nādhikam kvachit, tatra tatrochitākārarasabhāvakriyānvitam, chitram vichitraphaladam bhartuḥ kartuścha sarvadā, ato'nyad aśubham chitram viparītaphalapradam, na lekhayet tan na likhellokadvayasukhechchhayā, Śilparatna* p. 245. This explains the reason why Bāṇa is so particular about mentioning pictures painted as auspicious ones, *maṅgalyālekhyas, pratyagralikhitamaṅgalyālekhyojjvalitabhittibhāgamanohāriṇi, Kādambarī*, p. 136; *chaturachitrakarachakravālalikhyamānamaṅgalyālekhyam, Harshacharita* p. 142.

Fine arts were specially valued, among them painting, and they were given a high place along with literature and expressive arts like dance. Rājaśekhara mentions in his *Kāvyamīmāmsā* how kings, themselves learned and art-minded, could foster art and literature, by holding assemblies of those proficient in these (Fig. 18) and

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adjudging and rewarding them: *rājā kaviḥ kavisamājam vidadhīta, rājani kavau lokaḥ kavis syāt, Kāvyamīmāmsā* 1, 10 p. 54-55. In the assembly he mentions eminent poets, musicians, dancers, sculptors, and painters, ivory carvers and others great in their profession. Samudragupta was proficient in music. Mahendravarman Pallava was an adept in music, painting, sculpture, literature, engineering and so, himself a distinguished poet, fostered art and learning. One of his titles was *chitrakārapuli*, i.e., a tiger among painters. Another such was Harshavardhana. Bhoja of Dhārā is noted for his great contribution towards art, engineering, medical science, philosophy, literature and so forth. Bhojasāgara, the huge irrigation lake, was his creation. His *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* has discussions on art just like the *Mānasollāsa* by Someśvara, the Western Chāḷukyan king, who has discussed painting elaborately in a chapter, even as he has done in several other chapters architecture, iconography, literary criticism and several similar subjects in this encyclopaedic work.

A high standard of appreciation of art was developed, and the artist rose equal to expectations by showing great proficiency in his craft. Bhoja in installing a carving of Sarasvatī in his University at Dhārā had really dedicated literature and art at her feet. The fine arts were styled *vaihārikaśilpas* and painting was one of the *vinodasthānas*. Dushyanta remarks that his picture, *vinodasthāna*, is half finished: *ardhalikhitam vinodasthānam asmābhiḥ, Abhijñānaśākuntalam* 6. The king could paint and excel in this. He could also invite suggestions. As Dushyanta asks his friend the *vidūshaka* to suggest what was still left to be done, he tells him that he had yet to paint *ṛishis* with long beards under the trees and so forth. He could equally invite criticism and appraisal of pictures. In the *Tilakamañjarī* connoisseurs are invited to judge pictures: *tad asya kuru kalāśāstrakuśalasya kauśalam, Tilakamañjarī* p. 133. Actually one lost in admiration of excellence in painting and sculpture is graphically portrayed by Śrī Harsha. The highest creator Brahmā is described as vigorously nodding his head, almost like an aged one, in appreciation of a beautiful thing witnessed: *vīkshya yam bahu dhuvan śiro jarāvātakī vidhir akalpi śilpirāṭ, Naishadhīyacharita* 13, 12. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is said of the excellence of the *śilpin* that every little part composing the whole was in terms of good, better and

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best, either equal or superior to any one part singled out of the composite whole for consideration: *tatas tatas tulyaviśeshadarśanam, Rāmāyaṇa,* 5, 8, 4.

Being a visual art of permanent value, unlike dance, where the most charming situations and modes are but fleeting momentary stances that disappear before they are even comprehended, or unlike music with its sweetest strains, equally momentary, vanishing in the train of a succession of innumerable such as cause the greatest pleasure to audition, painting and sculpture are the expression of ideals of charm permanently recorded for a perennial enjoyment of aesthetic experience. That is why the *Visṇudharmottara*, which brings together dance and painting, and suggests the understanding of all that is left untold in any one of them from what is explained in the other, still holds out a high pedestal for art. A complete treatment of art or its understanding is impossible even in several hundreds of years. What is left unsaid in art has to be supplemented from dance and vice versa. Still, of all these fine arts, that are in themselves auspicious, promote auspiciousness and make for the four *purushārthas, dharma, kāma, artha* and *moksha*, painting and sculpture are the foremost. Like Sumeru the golden one among mountains, as Garuḍa among all birds, like an ideal sovereign among men, so is painting among all the fine arts: *aśakyo vistarād vaktum bahuvarshaśatair api, yad atra noktam tannṛittād vijñeyam vasudhādhipa, nṛitte'pi noktam tachchitrāt tatra yojyam narādhipa, kalānām pravaram chitram dharmakāmārthamokshadam, maṅgalyam paramam hyetad gṛihe yatra pratishṭhitam, yathā sumeruḥ pravaro nagānām yathāṇḍajānām garuḍaḥ pradhānaḥ yathā janānām pravaraḥ kshitīśas tathā kalānām iha chitrakalpaḥ, Vishṇudharmottara* **3**, 43, 36-39.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE CHITRASŪTRA AND ITS DATE

Polite education required a knowledge of several fine arts in addition to erudition in literature, rhetoric, grammer, logic, systems of philosophy and vast acquaintance with allied subjects. One of the common literary games *prahelikā*, a variety of which was *antādi* requiring a vast fund of memorised verses to quote, *samayochitapadyamālikā*, ready wit to whip up appropriate quotations for an occasion, is an indication of how sharpened was the wisdom of a *nāgaraka*, educated urbane man about town. Painting was rated high among these *vinodasthānas* (lit. seat of pleasure) hobbies. In the *Kāmasūtra*, Vātsyāyana describes the set up and arrangement of the living room of a typical *nāgaraka*, an urban gentleman of taste with a knowledge of the *vinodasthānas* and a keen eye and ear for painting, dance and music. This includes a *vīṇā* suspended from a peg, a painting board, a box full of colours and brushes, a book of literary value: *nāgadantāvasaktā vīṇā, chitraphalakam vartikāsamudgakaḥ, yaḥ kaśchit pustakaḥ, kuraṇṭakamālās cha*, *Kāmasūtra* 4, 10. Śyāmilaka mentions a cup for holding colours casually kept on the window sill: *tato'ham asaṅgam ālekhyavarṇakapātram gavākshād ākshipya...Pādatāḍitaka* p. 35.

The gentleman of leisure who learnt and practised art as a *vinodasthāna* could never dream of using it as a profession for his livelihood. That is why the *samvāhaka* in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* laments that an art, learnt as an accomplishment, had, in changed circumstances, become his means of livelihood: *kaleti śikshitā ājīvikedānīm samvṛittā*, *Mṛichchhakaṭika* 2. The courtesan, who was among the most

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accomplished, was no doubt an adept in music, dance, painting, sculpture, literature and so forth, but Damodaragupta makes it clear that her effort to excel in her knowledge of the fine arts was more to brandish her accomplishments and attract attention as much by these as by her personal charm and stamina that she built up assiduously: *māmsarasābhyavahāraḥ purushāhatipīḍayā na tu spṛihayā, ālekhyādau vyasanam vaidagdhyakhyātaye na tu vinodāya, Kuṭṭanīmata* 307. Īśvaradatta defends the *veśavāsa*, the abode of the courtesan, by representing it as the very fountain of fine arts, wit and wisdom, and many accomplishments: *prāgalbhyam sthānaśauryam vachananipuṇatām saushṭhavam sattvadīptim chitrajñānam pramodam surataguṇanidhim raktanārīnivṛittim, chitrādīnām kalānām adhigamanam atho saukhyam agryam cha kāmī prāpnotyāśritya veśam yadi katham ayaśas tasya loko bravīti, Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda*, p. 27. Still, however, the noble influence of painting as a great art was such that even the calculating courtesan could be madly in love with a not-too-prosperous master in painting by her passion for art. Śyāmilaka gives the instance of Kusumāvatikā, an accomplished courtesan, passionately adoring the able *chitrāchārya* Śivasvāmin mainly for his mastery in the art: *'jānīta evāsmatsvāmī yathāsmatsakhyā kusumāvatikāyāḥ priyavayasyam chitrāchāryam śivasvāminam prati mahān madanonmādaḥ' iti, Pādatāḍitaka* p. 25.

The professional aspect of art was most pronounced among the courtesans, and the state gave special attention to the imparting of this knowledge to them by supporting *śilpins* who were instrumental in it. Kauṭilya makes it obligatory on the part of the state to support the art masters, that spread their knowledge among pupils from such professions as required proficiency in different branches of the fine arts as a mark of their accomplishment, as it thereby enhanced the prestige of the state itself through the renown of such professionals: *gītavādyapāṭhyanṛittanāṭyāksharachitravīṇāveṇumṛidaṅgaparachittajñānagandhamālyasamyūhanasampādanasamvāhanavaiśikakalājñānāni gaṇikādāsīraṅgopajīvinīścha grāhayato rājamaṇḍalād ājīvam kuryāt, Arthaśāstra* 2, 17, 44.

It is this importance attached to the knowledge of fine arts and the popularity of the *vinodasthānas* among several amateurs that became almost an inducement to opulent charlatans to pretend a

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knowledge to which they could have no claim. Damodaragupta gives a telling example in Bhaṭṭaputra, who always carried in his hand a pair of paper-cut scissors to brandish in assemblies and impress his knowledge of elegant figure cutting, though, except for his self conceit, he had no knowledge of this or any other art for that matter: *patrachchhedam ajānan jānan vā kauśalam kalāvishaye, prakaṭayati janasamāje bibhrāṇaḥ patrakartarīm satatam, Kuṭṭanīmata* 74.

Naturally when some painters and sculptors excelled in their profession, the baneful influence of the courtesan dancers and those successful on the stage, developed in them a certain ego and vanity, making them even overbearing in their attitude, though better birth, upbringing and reverence for the art would normally have given them greater humility: *abhyadhikam dhṛishṭatvam prāyeṇa hi śilpajīvino bhavati, āśritanartakavṛitter viśeshato vijitaraṅgasya, Kuṭṭanīmata* 878.

Painting among fine arts indeed became so important that it was elaborated as a science very much as dance or music. Such a sophisticated study naturally brought into being standards of art criticism like those of literary criticism in *alaṅkāraśāstra*. A standard text as a desideratum is to be expected to exist for such elaborate study, which alone could provide the textual definitions of the delicate nuances of the art. Fortunately such a text has been found in the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, an appendix of the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, thanks to Professor Stella Kramrisch who translated and discussed this section over five decades ago. *Guṇas* and *doshas*, merits and defects, the proper portrayal of *rasas*, emotions, suggestive import, styles of execution, are all elaborated in the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the standard text on the principles of painting. Was this text assiduously studied by painters and connoisseurs? Is it known from any sources? Has it been mentioned as a standard book on art as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata is known to be the standard text on dance? The answer is that a text, *Chitrasūtra*, is mentioned in the *Kuṭṭanīmata*. The only *Chitrasūtra* that we know is the one in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. It very well answers the requirement of such a text, and has valuable material. *Nāgarakas*, connoisseurs of art, accomplished courtesans, painters and sculptors, among others that

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could claim a liberal education studied the *Chitrasūtra* along with other standard texts on other subjects like dance and music. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Dattila's text on music and the *Chitrasūtra* are among the many standard books on the fine arts studied by the accomplished courtesan Mālatī as Damodaragupta has it: *bharata-viśākhiladattilavṛikshāyurvedachitrasūtreshu, patrachchhedavidhāne bhramakarmaṇi pustasūdaśāstreshu, Kuṭṭanīmata* 124.

The *Vishṇudharmottara* elaborates how, to understand the principles of *chitra* from the *Chitrasūtra*, a knowledge of *nāṭya* or dance is essential, and to comprehend that, knowledge of *ātodya* or instrumental music is a necessity, which, in its turn, requires proficiency in *gīta* or vocal music, this last, again, depending on a knowledge of language, both classical and unsophisticated, *saṁskṛita* and *prākṛita*, with its rich literature in prose and poetry, its peculiarities of grammar, prosody, nuances of usage, interplay of regional languages and so forth. So in fact all these are dealt with. It may be that, just as the principles of dance, music, rhetoric, etc., are enumerated here as in their individual regular elaborate texts, the principles of *chitra* are briefly given here and a more elaborate text on which this is based or for which this forms a nucleus does exist. But so far there has not yet been found another text styled *Chitrasūtra*, though the study of it is mentioned so early as in the eighth century A.D.

The date of the *Vishṇudharmottara* and the *Chitrasūtra* which is part of it could help understanding this problem better. Damodaragupta, the chief minister of King Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir of the Karkoṭa dynasty, who was himself learned and a patron of letters, and in whose court were such great litterateurs like Ānandavardhana, belongs to the eighth century. The *Chitrasūtra* mentioned by Dāmodaragupta is to be understood as the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, till any other independent text of that importance in textual content and with identical name is found.

Moreover the *Visṇudharmottara* itself is quoted by Śaṅkarāchārya in his *bhāshya* on the *Vishṇusahasranāma: rasān ādatta iti raviḥ ādityātmā, 'rasānām cha tathādānād ravir ityabhidhīyate'* (1, 30, 16) *iti vishṇudharmottare.....sarvasya jagataḥ prasavitā savitā 'prajānām tu*

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prasavanāt savitéti nigadyate (1,30,15) *iti vishṇudharmottare*, *Vishṇusahasranāma* 107. Śaṅkara lived in the eighth century. This is therefore anterior to this date. The attribution of some of the works to Śaṅkara has again been considered a problem to be determined. Śaṅkara wrote the most erudite *bhāshyas*, allegorical and philosophical hymns, as well as the simplest but most effective poems for educating the least sophisticated, educationally equipped and younger age groups. He met their capacity by reaching them at their level. An erudite *paṇḍit* does not talk to his grandchild in the terse language of Patañjali or Vāchaspati Miśra. Śaṅkara had different levels to reach and different approaches to teach. He had to preach the way of bliss through *jñāna*, the path of attainment of grace through *bhakti*, through *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa upāsanā*.

The stamp of Śaṅkara's composition already noticed in his repetition of favoured phrases in more than one poetic piece is again chosen for quotation in inscriptions not too far remote in age. An example is *nalinīdalagatajalam atitaralam tadvajjīvitam atichayachapalam* from the *Mohamudgara* or *Bhajagovindastotra* as it is more popularly known, repeated in the line *nalinīdalagatajalavat taralam kim yauvanam dhanam chāyuḥ* of the *Praśnottararatnamālikā* 11. This is bodily dovetailed in the text of the Sevadi copper plate inscription of the Chāhamāna king Ratnapāla dated in the early years of the twelfth century A.D. Śaṅkara's date is confirmed as the eighth century by not only the mention of Bhagavatpāda Śaṅkara as the master from whom studied philosophy Śivasoma the venerable *rājaguru* of Indravarman I as given in an inscription in Pallava Grantha of the ninth century from Kambuja a feudatory state of Fu-nan in Cambodia: *yenādhītāni śāstrāṇi bhagavachchhaṅkarāhvayāt, niśśeshasūrimūrdhālimālālīḍhāṅghripaṅkajāt*, Coedes, G. *Inscriptions du Cambodge* 1, p. 37, but also from the portrait of his from one of the Pallava shrines in Kāñchīpuram (Fig. 19). In what esteem Śaṅkara was held during his own time is clear from the terms in which he is referred in the inscription 'as with his lotus feet kissed by the swarm of bees in the shape of the heads of the totality of intellectuals', and the importance accorded him by placing him next to Vyāsa and close to Dakshiṇāmūrti.

In discussing the date of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, Dr. Kramrisch

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has argued that if Śaṅkara were known to this text he would have been made an attendant deity in the pantheon surrounding Vishṇu. "Had Śaṅkara existed at the time of the compilation of the chapters on painting, the author would have incorporated him into the Vaishṇava pantheon in spite of his being an incarnation of Śiva", Kramrisch p. 3. Actually Śaṅkara is shown as seated to the right in adoration of Vishṇu as a teacher, Gītāchārya, with *akshamālā* in his lower right hand and other attributes in the rest, a rare Gurjara Pratīhāra sculpture of the ninth century from Rajasthan in the collection of Mrs. Pupul Jayakar. This is contemporaneous with Vāchaspati Miśra, one of the greatest intellectuals that commented on the *bhāshyas* of the great *ācharya*. Dr. Kramrisch's argument is thus more than answered and confirmed by this very sculpture. The text of the *Vishṇudharmottara* is unaware of Śaṅkara whom however the Pallava sculptor associates with Śiva in the company of Vyāsa and the Pratihāra sculptor with Vishṇu as the expounder of the *Gītā*, the text of which is recorded by Vyāsa, who is identified with Vishṇu. Śaṅkara quotes the *Vishṇupuraṇa* 3, 4, 5, to identify Vyāsa, with Vishṇu *kṛishṇadvaipāyanam vyāsam viddhi nārāyaṇam prabhum, ko hyanyaḥ puṇḍarīkākshāt mahābhāratakṛit bhavet.*

There is also another feature in the sculpture from Kāñchīpuram representing Vyāsa accompanied by Śaṅkara. The portrait type of Vyāsa already given in the southern recension of the *Mahābhārata*, preserved also in the text from Bali edited by Sylvain Levi, reads as 'dark like laden cloud, tawny in his bound up locks of hair, tall, staff in hand, antelope-skin covered, purifying the worlds by his look, the foremost of poets, son of Parāśara, reveals himself in the divisions of the *Mahābhārata: abhraśyāmaḥ piṅgajaṭābaddhakalāpaḥ prāmśur daṇḍī kṛishṇamṛigatvakparidhānaḥ, sākshāllokān pāvayamānaḥ kavimukhyaḥ pārāśaryaḥ parvasu rūpam vitanotu, Mahābhārata* 1. The *Vishṇudharmottara* nearly repeats it, describing Vyāsa as dark-hued, of emaciated form, tawny in his tied up locks of hair and attended by his four disciples Sumantu, Jaimini, Paila and Vaiśampāyana: *kṛishṇaḥ kṛiśatanur vyāsaḥ piṅgalātijaṭādharaḥ, sumantur jaiminiḥ pailo vaiśampāyana eva cha, tasya śishyās tu kartavyās chatvāraḥ paripārśvayoḥ, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 85, 65-66. The disciples are also shown with Vyāsa, though all of them including Vyāsa are subordinated to

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Śiva as the supreme teacher, Dakshiṇāmūrti, in the main niche, flanking which are two niches, where again a division of them is so made that Vyāsa and Jaimini representing *Pūrva-* and *Uttara-mīmāmsā* are prominent each in one. A significant addition is Śaṅkara in the group, and significantly very close to Vyāsa (Fig. 19). The *Vishṇudharmottara* mentions also the mode of representation of Vālmīki, fair in colour, almost covered up by a mass of bound-up locks, lost in penance, peaceful, neither lanky nor obese: *gauras tu kāryo vālmīkir jaṭāmaṇḍaladurdṛiśaḥ, tapasyabhiratas śānto na kṛiśo na cha pīvaraḥ, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 85, 64. And we know only one instance of an image of his installed in the only temple dedicated to him in the far off village Tra Kieu in the province of Quang-Nam in Annam and equated with Simhapura, the ancient capital of Champā. This is again an early tradition, a tradition following the dictum of this text which is again thus proven to be anterior to the eighth century.

Dr. Priyabala Shah, in proceeding upwards from the latest works that mention the *Vishṇudharmottara*, notes Hemādri's mention in the *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi* in about 1260 A.D., and Alberuni's in about 1030 A.D. But these do not go beyond the mention of the name of the work. The specific use of special technical terms described in detail in the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇudharmottara* is found in a very early poem in a regional language in a casual way, establishing that the terms were already so well known and in use, and probably were so very much in vogue that they had become part of cultural life and existence, pointing to the text of the *Chitrasūtra* to be so much anterior to it by several centuries. This reference is to the *vartanas* or modes of shading like *patraka* and *binduka* as well as the term *nimnonnata* used by Kālidāsa and, earlier, in the *Mahābhārata*, from which quotes Kshemendra. The passage occurs in the Telugu poem *Kumārasambhava* by Nannechoḍa, claimed by Ramakrishna Kavi, who discovered and made known to the world its rare manuscript and text, to belong to the ninth century, though another opinion believes it to be slightly later than Nannaya, the first of the three authors of the *Mahābhārata* in Telugu. The passage *patrakabindukanimnonnatambul alavarachi* is indeed revealing. It really points to a date for our text far anterior to it, and again confirms its date prior

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to the eighth eentury, already seen from its reference by Śaṅkara.

As has been discussed by Dr. Kramrisch and Dr. Priyabala Shah the *Vishṇudharmottara* has freely drawn from earlier sources. The text of the *Nāṭyāśāstra* has been of great help to the compilation of the chapters on dance in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. Still there are some variations in the enumeration of the *karaṇas*, *aṅgahāras*, *hastas*, which do not in themselves constitute very special indications of date, though some may constitute. Thus the eight *rasas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* contrast here with the nine enumerated in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. In the *Ubhayābhisārikā* of Vararuchi an interesting passage enumerating dance movements, flavours and musical rhythms confirms the *rasas* as eight-fold and shows its proximity to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in date. Priyaṅgusenā, the famous young dancer, combines in herself the basic requisites, like beauty of form, the bloom of the dawn of youth, alluring hue, great bodily sheen and several such others. Apart from this are her accomplishments in the art itself, her mastery over the four-fold *abhinaya*, the thirty-two varieties of hand movements, eighteen modes of glances, six stances, three-fold movements, eight flavours, tripartite musical rhythm and other such dance factors, which are, as the poet describes, beautified by their association with such a talented danseuse: *yasyās tāvad prathamam rūpaśrīnavayauvanadyutikāntyādīnām guṇānām sampat, chaturvidhābhinayasiddhiḥ, dvātrimśadvidho hastaprachāraḥ, ashṭādaśavidham nirīkshaṇam, shaṭ sthānāni, gatitrayam, ashṭau rasāḥ, trayo gītavāditrādilayā, ityevamādīni nṛittāṅgāni tvadāśrayeṇālaṅkṛitāni, Ubhayābhisārikā* p. 142. Here the *rasadṛishṭis* and *sthāyīdṛishṭis* are alone taken which explains the count eighteen. The number of *hastaprachāras* here, taking only *asamyuta* and *samyuta* and including *nṛittahastas*, are exceeded by the enumeration given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Vishṇudharmottara* by five and three respectively. These variations may not help in themselves to determine their relative position in age. Yet the number of *rasas* is not altogether to be excluded in the study of the age of the works. Dr. Manmohan Ghosh has felt that 100 B.C. could be the date of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The dance sculptures from Bhārhut and Amarāvatī illustrating definite ideas in the technique of dance language confirm this date. This would only place the *Vishṇudharmottara* later than the second-first centuries B.C. But how much later has to be determined.

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Dr. Priyabala Shah discusses the similarity between Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* and the section on literature in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. Considering the tendency in *alaṅkāra* literature to increase *alaṅkāras* gradually and diminish the importance of *prahelikās*, we may safely conclude that the text of the *Vishṇudharmottara* with its eighteen *alaṅkāras* and twenty four *prahelikās* has precedence in date over Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin who give respectively thirty-nine and thirty-five *alaṅkāras* and the latter of these two, sixteen *prahelikās*. This would take the *Vishṇudarmottara* before the seventh century.

Dr. Priyabala Shah has given another point to argue a date for the *Vishṇudharmottara* in the fourth century. Taking the passage *chaitro madhur iti smṛitaḥ vaiśākho mādhavaḥ proktaḥ*, *Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 9, 3, she points out that sixteen hundred years ago, the day of the vernal equinox was the day when the sun entered the sign *mesha*. The identity of the lunar months *chaitra*, *viśākha*, *jyeshṭha*, *āshāḍha* and the rest with the seasonal months *madhu*, *mādhava*, *sukha*, *śuchi*, etc., shows that the beginning of spring was in *chaitra* at that far off date, and the spring equinox was when the sun entered *mesha*. The line *tulāmeshagate bhānau vishuvaddinam uchyate*, *Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 9, 6, is in support of this. Today however the spring equinox is twenty-three days earlier. The correspondence between the lunar and seasonal months is answered in all early works that go back before the fourth century like the *Amarakośa* and the *Arthaśāstra*. In the former the lines are clear: *mārgaśīrshe sahā mārga āgrahāyaṇikaścha saḥ paushe taishasahasyau dvau tapā māghe' tha phālgune*, *syāt tapasyaḥ phālgunikas syāchchaitre chaitriko madhuḥ*, *vaiśākhe mādhavo rādho jyeshṭhe śukras śuchistvayam*, *āshāḍhe śrāvaṇe tu syān nabhas śrāvaṇikaścha saḥ*, *syur nabhasyapraushṭhapadabhadrabhādrapadāḥ samāḥ*, *Amarakośa* 1, 3, 15-17.

The upper age limit has been held by her on the strength of the northern dress *udīchyavesha* and *aviyaṅga* or *viyaṅga* mentioned for Sūrya as due to Magian influence from Persia that Sir R.G. Bhandarkar places in the third century A.D. But there are Kushāṇa images of Sūrya of the first and second century also (Fig. 20). Examination of other early iconographic factors also described in

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the *Vishṇudharmottara* considerably help in understanding the date of the text.

In the *Śatarudrīya* of the *Kṛishṇayajurveda-taittirīya saṁhitā*, the epithet *dhāvadbhyaḥ* indicates the running forms of deities in apposition to the standing and the reclining. The *Vishṇudharmottara* gives an excellent example for this in Vāyu, who is all the time on the move in the proverbial *vāyuvega* mentioned by Vālmīki in the context of Hanumān's swift flight over the sea, *vāyuvegasavegasya*, *Rāmāyana*, 5, 37, 45. On one variety of Kanishka's coins (Fig. 21) Vāyu is represented running very fast with dishevelled hair, holding the terminals of his upper garment filled with wind, indicating his swift movement: *vāyupūritavastras cha dvibhujo rūpasamyutaḥ, kāryo gṛihītavastrāntaḥ karābhyām pavano dvija, vyāvrittāsyas tathā kāryo devo vyākulamūrdhajaḥ, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 58, 1-3. This early form of Vāyu occurs only in this case and is never repeated in any later representation of the deity. In early medieval sculpture, Vāyu still carries the windfilled upper garment (Fig. 22 and 23) even as Agni, aflame in Gupta sculpture, *jvālāmālākulam*, *Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 56, 1 (Fig. 24) has still flames on his shoulders in early medieval representations. In later medieval sculpture however, it is only the banner or his swift vehicle the deer that distinguish him. The striking coincidence of every detail of the description and the figure on this first century coin is very significant indeed, especially when it is noted that this form never occurs any later.

In the case of Sūrya wearing *udīchya vesha* or northern dress the mention of moustaches is significant. It not only follows an early Vedic description *hiraṇyasmaśru*, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, but also points to the early Kushāṇa type that has the moustaches, absent in later sculptures of the deity. His attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are also shown in *udīchyavesha* as described in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. This *udīchyavesha* for Sūrya is reiterated in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, an early Gupta text, *kuryād udīchyavesham gūḍham pādād uro yāvat kamalodaradyutimukhaḥ kañchukaguptas smitaprasannamukhaḥ*, *Bṛihatsamhitā* 57, 46-48. On the reverse of a copper coin of Huvishka, shown riding an elephant on the obverse, there is represented Sūrya whom the legend in Greek letters styles *Mioro* corresponding to Sanskrit *Mihira*. The deity is

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haloed, wears long coat and top boots. This is the Central Asian *udīchya vesha* for Sūrya, the dress of the Kushāṇa. The early indigenous type of turbaned, barebodied, garland-decorated Sūrya now changes into this Central Asian type. This latter is the form best known to the author of the *Vishṇudharmottara* and he describes it.

The *Vishṇudharmottara* makes a difference in the depiction of Skanda by mentioning four varieties, Kumāra, Skanda, Viśākha and Guha. The first is six-faced and the rest have each a normal single face. There is also an identification of Vāsudeva Vishṇu with Kumāra as assuming that form to lead the army of the gods, *devasenā: chatur-mūrteḥ kumārasya rūpam te vachmi yādava, kumāras cha tathā skando viśākhas cha guhas tathā, kumāras shaṇmukhaḥ kāryas śikhaṇḍaka-vibhūshaṇaḥ....chaturbhujo hi bhagavān vāsudevas sanātanaḥ, prādur-bhūtaḥ kumāras tu devasenāninīshayā, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 71, 3, 4, 7. We know that varieties of Kumāra were known even in the days of Patañjali who mentions individually Skanda and Viśākha as separate deities *śivas skando viśākha iti, Mahābhāshya.* The identity of Kumāra with Vishṇu is rather confusing, as normally it is understood that the importance of Kumāra or Kārtikeya lay in his being the glowing power of Śiva himself, exceeding even solar effulgence, conserved in flaming fire to be the protector of the celestial army: *rakshāhetor navaśaśibhṛitā vāsavīnām chamūnām atyādityam hutavahamukhe sambhṛitam taddhi tejaḥ, Meghadūta* 1, 46.

To understand this identity of Kumāra with Vishṇu, the ancient name of Kumāra, Brahmaṇyadeva, denoting Kumāra on Yaudheya coins (Fig. 25), associating him with both the single-faced and six-faced form of the deity, and the ancient *mahāmantra* that associates the name with Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva, offer the clue. The Yaudheyas, a war-like tribe renowned for their valour in battle, chose Kārtikeya as their war-lord and represented him holding a spear and inscribed the legend in Brāhmī *yaudheyagaṇasya jaya or brahmaṇyadevasya yaudheyagaṇasya jaya,* having him ever before them as the ideal in military glory. The six-headed variety of Kumāra also represented on the Yaudheya coins leaves no doubt about who the Brahmaṇya-deva is. Kumāra is known from other sources also as Brahmaṇya-deva. In the Bilsad inscription of Kumāragupta, Brahmaṇyadeva is clearly stated to be a synonym of Svāmi Mahāsena; and the line of

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Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* describing him as the wonderful form of the conserved effulgence of the Lord from all the three worlds is echoed: *bhagavatas trailokyatejassambhārasantatādbhutamūrter brahmaṇya-devasya svāmimahāsenasyāyatane*, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* 3, pp. 44-45. The famous verse *namo brahmaṇyadevāya gobrāhmaṇahitāya cha jagaddhi-tāya kṛishṇāya govindāya namo namaḥ* associates Brahmaṇyadeva with Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva. The *Vishṇudharmottara*, being very close in date to both these traditions, voices this association with Vishṇu as well, and explains the train of thought. It also takes into account the six-faced and single-faced form of the deity, the variety itself occurring on early coins.

The Vaishṇavite tradition of representing Saṅkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Aṇiruddha and Sāmba is observed in one of the earliest sculptures of the early Pallavas of the Prākṛit characters, which hails from the village Koṇḍamoṭu in Guṇṭūr district (Fig. 26). It is carved in the late Sātavāhana style developed during the time of the Ikshvākus and continued by the Pallavas whose territory extended here. It is one of the most important sculptures for the study of early Hindu inconography, particularly in South India. The central figure is an arresting one of Narasiṁha in almost complete zoomorphic form, as a lion seated on a throne, with only the addition of a pair of human arms to carry the club and wheel. The early type of *śrīvatsa*, the symbol of Śrī, is marked on the mane just above the chest of the lion. There are two deities to the right of the lion and three to the left, all of them with a single pair of arms each. Flanking the lion, immediately near it, are Vāsudeva wearing a crown, with his right hand held up in *abhaya* and the left carrying the conch Pāñchajanya, and Pradyumna holding a bow and arrow. To the right of Vāsudeva is Sāmba distinguished by his long club, here looking almost a pestle, as usual in very early representations of Vishṇu himself holding the club, more resting his hand on its side than holding it. To the left of Pradyumna is Saṅkarshaṇa with a wine cup in his right hand. Beyond and at the end of the whole group is Aṇiruddha with sword and shield as he should be represented. It is interesting that the text of the *Vishṇudharmottara* gives these attributes as shown here though the sculpture is slightly earlier than the text: *chāpabāṇadharaḥ kāryaḥ*

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pradyumnas cha sudarśanaḥ, rājan dūrvādalaśyāmas śvetavāsā madotkaṭaḥ, kartavyas chāṇiruddho' pi khaḍgacharmadharaḥ prabhuḥ, sāmbaḥ kāryo gadāhastas surūpas cha viśeshataḥ, sāmbāṇiruddhau kartavyau padmābhau raktavāsasau. The *makaradhvaja* shown to the left of Sāmba is almost all for Pradyumna whose hands are both engaged. It is to the left as it should be, *vāmapārśvagatāḥ kāryā devānām pravarā dhvajāḥ, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 85, 76-78 and 28. This also tallies with the text of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of about the same period in the case of Vāsudeva and Saṅkarshaṇa. The former is to be, as in the sculpture, two-armed, with his right hand in *abhaya* and the left holding the conch, *dvibhujasya tu śāntikaro dakshiṇahasto' paraś cha śaṅkhadharaḥ, Bṛihatsaṁhitā* 57, 35, the latter with his eyes rolling in drunken fantasy, a single ear-lobe decorated with jewel, the other free, *halapāṇir madavibhramalochanas cha kartavyo bibhrat kuṇḍalam ekam śaṅkhendumṛiṇālagauravapuḥ, Bṛihatsaṁhitā* 57, 36. The description of Baladeva's drunken languor and rolling eyes and the special adornment of a single earlobe with *kuṇḍala* is answered in the *Vishṇudharmottara* as well. It is interesting to note how this *Pañchavīra* group enshrined is mentioned in an early inscription from the village Mora in the vicinity of Mathurā. This early predilection for *Pañchavīras* disappears in favour of the *chaturvyūha* that later takes its place. This is a point in favour of an early date for the *Vishṇudharmottara* text that describes the five. But the *chaturvyūha* concept is also portrayed with equal gusto. This as well as the lack of knowledge of Narasiṁha in nearly pure zoomorphic form in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, that, however, knows Varāha in the therianthropomorphic and purely zoomorphic form as well, suggests its date as not earlier than the third and nearer the fourth century A.D.

Early Vākāṭaka representation of Brahmā in the Elephanta caves in several panels, as among the numerous Devas hovering above and around the main form of Śiva, is indeed one of the most interesting (Fig. 27). Brahmā is four-faced and four-armed, wearing *jaṭā* locks and *kṛishṇājina yajñopavīta*, seated on lotus and carried lightly by a fleet of seven swans. *Ajinayajñopavīta*, sacred thread composed of deer skin, is mentioned for deity in the *Śatarudrīya* in the epithet *upavītine*, and prescribed as essential for Vedic studies and perfor-

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mance of sacrifices, *ajinam vaso va dakshiṇata upavīya dakshiṇam bāhum uddharate...yajñopavītyeva adhīyīta yājayed yajeta vā, Taittirīya Saṁhitā. Kṛishṇājina*, the skin of the black antelope, given in the text of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, is not only very pure, but represents, by its white and dark shades, the *Ṛig* and *Yajurvedas* as they assumed this form as described in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. The text of the *Vishṇudharmottara* describes Brahmā as benign in his four faces, seated in *padmāsana* on lotus, wearing the black antelope skin upper garment with matted hair, four-armed and on a fleet of seven swans, carrying waterpot and rosary: *brahmāṇam kārayed vidvān devam saumyam chaturmukham, baddhapadmāsanam toshyam tathā kṛishṇājināmbaram, jaṭādharam chaturbāhum saptahamse rathe sthitam, ekasmin dakshiṇe pāṇāvakshamālā tathā śubhā, kamaṇḍalur dvitīye cha sarvābharaṇa-dhārinaḥ, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 44, 5-7. It is interesting to compare with this the description of Brahmā by Bāṇa as riding a fleet of swans: *viśrāntam iva vitatapakshatinā viyati pitāmahavimānahamsa-yūthena, Harshacharita* 7, p. 60; *pitāmahavimānahamsakulapālaḥ paryaṭan aparavaktram uchchair agāyat, Harshachari ta* 1, p. 7. The significance in this case is that this form of Brahmā on a fleet of swans, that does not appear in sculpture later than the fifth-sixth century, is an early concept fresh in the mind of the author of the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

The *Vishṇudharmottara* describes Indra with an eye horizontally placed on the forehead, a Kushāṇa feature that later survived for a long time later in Nepal (Fig. 28), disappearing altogether from India after the early three, four centuries of the Christian era: *tiryaglalāṭa-genākshṇā kartavyas cha vibhūshitaḥ, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 50, 3. This text also explains that his triple-eyed aspect is after Śambhu. It is well known that it is only in the early Kushāṇa *ekamukhaliṅgas* and in the inscribed Śiva with Gaurī from Allāhābād of late Kushāṇa date that the eye on the forehead is horizontally shown, a feature also adopted for Indra very early and discontinued thereafter in India, though surviving in Nepal. So the mention of this feature in this text is again significant. The description here of the connotation of the four tusks of Airāvata, Indra's vehicle, is equally significant in reckoning the four expedients of royal prowess: *arthastvairāvaṇo jñeyo dantās tasya tu kīrtitāḥ, daivamantraprabhūtsāhaśaktayas tu mahābalāḥ, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 50, 12, It is exactly the same

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idea that is voiced by Kālidāsa in his verse *suragaja iva dantair bhagnadaityāsidhāraiḥ, naya iva paṇabandhavyaktayogair upāyaiḥ, harir iva yugadīrghair dorbhir amśais tadīyaiḥ patir avanipatīnām tais chakāśe chaturbhiḥ, Raghuvamśa* 10, 86.

The panel of Naranārāyaṇa at Deogarh is the earliest known representing this form (Fig. 1). It is indeed a striking example of harmony, meticulous in every detail, as given in the text of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. Four-armed Nārāyaṇa and Nara with a single pair of arms are seated under a Badarī tree, flanking it, wearing matted locks and black-antelope skin, holding the rosary, the very picture of tranquillity, one a complement to the other, one leg suspended and the other on or near the knee of the other: *dūrvāśyāmo naraḥ kāryo dvibhujas cha mahābhuja, nārāyaṇas chaturbāhur nīlotpala-dalachchhaviḥ, tayor madhye cha badarī kāryā phalavibhushaṇā, badaryām anu tau kāryāvakshamālādharāvubhau, kṛishṇājinadharau dāntau jaṭāmaṇḍaladhāriṇau, pādena chaikena rathasthitena pādena chaikena cha jānugena, kāryo haris chātra nareṇa tulyaḥ kṛishṇo'pi nārāyaṇatulya-mūrtiḥ, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 76, 2-5. To this has to be added the text narrating the birth of Urvaśī: *nārāyaṇena muninā lokānām hitakāmyayā, prāptānām vañchanārthāya devastrīṇām mahāmuniḥ, sahakārarasam gṛihya ūrau chakre varastriyam, chitreṇa sā tato jātā rūpayuktā varāpsarāḥ yām dṛishṭvā vrīḍitās sarvā jagmus tā devayoshitaḥ, Vishṇudharmottara*, 3, 35, 2-4.

One of the earliest representations of Vishṇu as Vaikuṇṭha is in metal and is now in the Museum fur Volkerkunde in Berlin (Fig. 29). It is a late Gandhāran piece and is to be dated in the fourth-fifth century A.D. It is a rare example still preserving earlier Gandhāra tradition. The crown is based on the early Indian turban getting transformed into a crown with circular lotus-shaped jewel, *maulimaṇi*. The moustache, the muscular treatment of the body and the mode of garment worn, all recall Gandhāra work. This has been the inspiration for later representations of similar *chaturvyūha* type of Vishṇu with Narasiṁha-Varāha faces on either side and the Kapila aspect at the back as in the famous Vaikuṇṭha sculpture from Kashmir. The fat pot-bellied *chakra* as *āyudhapurusha* is delightfully treated as also Pṛithvī at his feet holding them on her palms. Noteworthy here are the details in the text of the

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Vishṇudharmottara occurring visually in this figure. The circular crest jewel, *śiraḥpadmas tathaivāsya kartavyas chārukarṇikaḥ* (3,85,5); the lower garment reaching his knee, *devas cha kaṭivāsena kāryo jānvavalambinā* (3,85,8); the garland *vanamālā* up to his knee, *vanamālā cha kartavyā devajānvavalambinī* (3,85,9); the full blown lotus in his right hand and a real conch shell in his left hand, *vāmapaṇigataṃ śaṅkham śaṅkhākāram tu kārayet* (3,85,10); Pṛithvī at his feet and between them, holding them on her palms, *strīrūpadhāriṇī kshoṇī kāryā tatpādamadhyagā, tatkarasthāṅghriyugalo devaḥ kāryo janārdanaḥ* (3,85, 6-7); personified wheel to his left, potbellied, bejewelled and with glaring globular eyes, *vāmabhāgagatas chakraḥ kāryo lambodaras tathā, sarvābharaṇasamyukto vṛittavisphāritekshaṇaḥ* (3,85,13), all these specially tally as if one was made for the other. The four faces are the benign, leonine, porcine and of Kapila, *saumyam tu vadanam pūrvam nārasiṁham tu dakshiṇam, kāpilam paśchimam vaktram tathā vārāham uttaram* (3, 44, 11-12). In the context of the early date of this metallic sculpture, the reference to the early feature of the circular *maulimaṇi* on the headgear showing the transition from turban to crown in this text is indeed significant.

Metal images of the Chambā school of the eighth century recall to a certain extent earlier Gupta traditions blended with the Kashmiri, Gandhāran and Pratīhāra elements. Of some of these images from the Brahmaur temple there is one which is rare and unique (Fig. 30). There is only one example known of Narasiṁha of this type. And it is interesting that this form has a special textual reference in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. It is a well-known convention that sometimes attributes are not shown in the hands of deities. Their suggestion in hands in the *mudrā* for carrying them is a charming mode. Rāma or Tripurāntaka carry no bow or arrow. Vīṇādhara has his hands in the attitude of holding the lute that is never depicted, the lotus or lily is absent in the hand of Devī in the attitude of holding it. In this manner Narasiṁha is seated, on a lion throne, his upper pair of arms lacking the wheel and conch, the lower pair immediately under the chin of the leonine face as if resting on the tip of the handle of the club, *gadā*. The blend of early Gandhāran and Gupta elements in this early medieval sculpture is most obvious. What is most noteworthy here again is the circular

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maulimaṇi on the headgear as in the earlier discussed Vishṇu. The text of the *Vishṇudharmottara* is amazingly close to this unique form; *simhāsane sukhāsīnaḥ kāryo vā bhagavān hariḥ, gadāmastakavinyastakaradvitayabhūshaṇaḥ* (3,78,9). When we remember this is the only example of this type, and still has lingering early features, the text becomes all the more significant.

In the early Pallava plaque of the fourth century from Peddamuḍiyam (Fig. 31) there are several early forms of deities including the *Śrīvatsa* symbol partially anthropomorphised. In this a band of lotus petals is shown on the head just below the crown. This tradition is continued in other similar but later Pallava representation in metal and stone, the former from Enāḍi and the latter from Kaverīpākkam. The aid to understand this rare feature is again the text of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, that not only prescribes the representation of a lotus on the head of Śrī, but also explains it as symbolic of *saubhāgya*, the essence of auspiciousness and good fortune: *devyās cha mastake padmam tathā kāryam manoharam, saubhāgyam tad vijānīhi, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 82, 8. In another still earlier panel from near Tenāli, there is Lakshmī almost as she is shown in the Peddamuḍiyam plaque but without the head and with a lotus in its stead.

The description of Varāha in the *Vishṇudharmottara* is significant. It mentions both the zoomorphic and the therianthropomorphic forms, *nṛivarāho varāho vā kartavyaḥ kshmāvidhāraṇe, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 79, 10. The two classical examples, both very early Gupta, the zoomorphic from Eran and the therianthropomorphic from Udayagiri near Bhilsa, are close to the mental image of the author of the *Vishṇudharmottara* and the text should have inspired the sculptor. We have to remember in this context the presence of Śesha personified and in worshipful attitude at the feet of Varāha shown in *ālīḍha* pose with his foot on the hoods, as in Udayagiri, mentioned in the text: *śeshas chaturbhujaḥ kāryas chāruratnaphaṇānvitaḥ, sarpabhogas cha kartavyas tathaiva rachitāñjaliḥ, ālīḍhasthānasamsthānas tatpṛishṭhe bhagavān bhavet, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 79, 2, 4. The reason for the Udayagiri panel being cited as the one that the text has inspired is easily understood by the description of personified rivers, like Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and specially the ocean,

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the former in anthropomorphic form, against their stream on their respective vehicles and carrying brimming water pots, and the latter carrying a pot of gems(Fig. 32). The ocean is mentioned in plural, and actually, against the ripple-shaped waves of the sea, the princely figure of the ocean is repeated four times at intervals, twice on the back wall and once on each of the side walls of the cave: The text again is significant: *saritām saśarīrāṇām vāhanāni pradarśayet, pūrṇakumbhakarāh kāryās tathā namitajānavaḥ, ratnapātrakarāḥ kāryās sāgarā manujottama, samudrāṇām prabhāsthāne salilam tu pradarśayet, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 42, 51, 53, 54.

There is a late Sātavāhana and Vākāṭaka tradition of representing two demons shaking the stalk of the lotus on which Buddha is seated. This is seen at Kārlā, Kanherī (Fig. 33), Ajaṇṭā and Ellora. This is a Brahmanical motif borrowed in Buddhist context like the *udaremukha* Kabandha from the *Rāmāyaṇa* introduced in the hosts of Māra attacking Buddha in several Buddhist monuments at Amarāvatī, Ajaṇṭā, Sārnāth, etc. This has its real context in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and it does figure in the panel at Prambanam showing Kabandha slain. Kabandha does not, strangely enough, occur in his proper context anywhere in India, though he occurs even in the second century in a Buddhist context. Similarly Madhu and Kaiṭabha shaking the stalk of the lotus topped by Brahmā does not occur in any of the early Śeshaśāyi panels. There is, however, sometimes an approach to this attitude of the demons shaking the lotus stalk as in a medieval Śeshaśāyi panel in the Koṭāh Museum (Fig. 34). The text of the *Vishṇudharmottara* however mentions, very significantly, both the demons tugging at the stalk of Brahmā's lotus: *nālalagnau cha kartavyau padmasya madhukaiṭabhau, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 81, 7. This may have been represented at Bhītargaon where most of the panels are either mutilated almost beyond recognition of their theme or completely lost. The one in The Indian Museum however lacks this feature.

The description of the form of Garuḍa in the *Vishṇudharmottara* is another significant pointer towards its early date. His nose is like the beak of the owl and the eyes are similarly circular in a globular face. He has distinct wings and human hands but the powerful legs

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of a hawk : *tārkshyo marakataprakhyaḥ kauśikākāranāsikaḥ, chaturbhujas tu kartavyo vṛittanetramukhas tathā, gṛidhrorujānucharaṇaḥ pakshadvayavibhūshaṇaḥ, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 54, 2.3. This is exactly the form of Garuḍa in Gupta seals (Fig. 35) and in the copper coins of Chandragupta II (Fig. 36). Specially noteworthy are the human arms and bird's legs. Later the legs become completely human. The earlier form of the Kushāṇa Garuḍa is that of a bird completely, except for the human ears with *kuṇḍala* decoration, a special feature only in the first two centuries of the Christian era.

A Pāla image of dancing Śiva is styled Narteśvara in the inscription engraved on its pedestal. The earliest images of this type are Gupta, of the fourth-fifth centuries. A classical example is from Nāchnā, from Mrs. Pupul Jayakar's collection, graciously presented by her to the National Museum. The term Narteśvara occurs also in early medieval inscriptions in Cambodia. He is variously known as Naṭarāja and Naṭeśa and Āḍavallān or Kūttan in South India, all meaning, no doubt, the best of dancers. But the term Narteśvara is spelt in the *Vishṇudharmottara* to designate this form: *nṛittenārādhayannāste devam chakragadādharam, nṛitteśvaratvam chāvāpa tushṭāva madhusūdanam, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 34, 22-23. The tradition of Vishṇu as Śeshaśāyi watching Śiva dancing is very old and it is intimately associated with the Naṭarāja-Govindarāja complex in Chidaṁbaram, the home of the Naṭarāja cult itself in South India, and is repeated in famous murals of both in Kerala as from Ettumānūr. The term Nṛitteśvara that has been adopted in north India has its origin in the *Vishṇudharmottara* text, that also brings together recumbent Vishṇu and dancing Śiva, the one as the creator of the *aṁgahāras*, and the other of rhythmic *nṛitta* with stress on *tāla* and *laya*.

The Sadāśiva aspect of Śiva as described in the *Vishṇudharmottara* is a very important pointer to the monolithic three-faced Śiva in the central cell at Elephanta and in one of the Vākāṭaka caves at Ellora. The calm and serene central face is Sadyojāta, the face to the right is the terrible visage Aghora, to the left the sweet and charming Vāmadeva and on the rear Tatpurusha, respectively representing Śiva, Bhairava, Umā and Nandi, the fifth, too holy to

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permit cognizance, and of the nature of ether, is invisible. That is how the *chaturmukhaliṅga* has its significance as Sadāśiva. It is mentioned by Bāṇa *chaturmukham charācharagurum bhagavantam tryambakam* in the context of Mahāśvetā's worship of Śiva. The *Vishṇudharmottara* mentions the attributes of each hand, bow and arrow for the central one, fruit and club for Aghora, mirror and lily for Vāmadeva and so forth. This is all so revealing when the monumental figure in the central cell of the Elephanta cave is observed. The *chaturmukha* from Nāchnā (Fig. 37) is another noteworthy example.

Dharma is described by Manu as Vṛisha, *vṛisho hi bhagavān dharmaḥ*, *Manusmṛiti* 8, 16, with four feet, *tapas*, *jñāna*, *yajña* and *dāna*, which in turn is described by Udayana as in a sad condition of deterioration, dangerously poised on the last remaining leg which is equally impaired: *pūrvam chatushpād dharma āsīt*, *tatas tanūyamāne tapasi tripāt*, *tato mlāyati jñāne dvipāt*, *samprati tanūyati yajñe dānaikapāt*, *so'pi pādo durāgatādivipādikāśatadūshito'śraddhāmalakalaṅkitaḥ kāmakrodhādikaṇṭakaśatajarjaraḥ pratyaham apachīyamānavīryatayā itastatas skhalannivopalabhyate*, *Nyāyakusumāñjali* 2, 3. The *Vishṇudharmottara* describes this as in anthropomorphic form, four-faced, four-armed and with four legs. Here *jñāna* mentioned by Udayana is replaced by *satya* making up *yajña*, *satya*, *tapas* and *dāna* the four faces of Dharma, the four feet *śruti*, *smṛiti*, *sadāchāra* and *priyam ātmanaḥ* as the four feet, following Manu who says *vedo'khilo dharmamūlam smṛitiśīle cha tadvidām āchāraśchaiva sādhūnām ātmanas tṛiptir eva cha*. A rare representation of Dharma is in the Lucknow Museum and can be dated in about the 9th-10th century A.D. Undoubtedly the significance of the four legs of Dharma and the anthropomorphic iconography given in the text is the inspirer of this sculpture, and for aught we know there should be an earlier Gupta representation. Dr. Bloch discovered at Basarh a terracotta seal with legend in Brāhmī *dharmo rakshati rakshitaḥ*, a line from the *Mahābhārata* chosen by a high dignitary as his ideal in the Gupta period. This concept and text for it should be taken as an indication of an early date.

The earliest sculpture of Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva flanking

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Ekānaṁśā is of the period of transition from Kushāṇa to Gupta (Fig. 38). The *Vishṇudharmottara* has an elaborate description of this group which is important. The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* gives exactly the same description of Ekānaṁśā as in the *Vishṇudharmottara*: *ekānaṁśā kāryā devī baladevakṛishṇayor madhye, kaṭisamsthitavāmakarā sarojam itareṇa chodvahatī*, *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* 57, 37. In the Pāñchāla Mitra series of coinage, the goddess on the reverse of Bhadraghosha's coin is the female deity Bhadrā, in allusion to the name of Bhadraghosha, as observed by Allan in his Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India, p. cxvii, 197 and plate. Bhadrā is Subhadrā, same as Ekānaṁśā. The *Vishṇudharmottara* says: *ekānaṁśāpi kartavyā devī padmakarā tathā, kaṭisthavāmahastā sā madhyasthā rāmākṛishṇayoḥ* (3, 85, 71-72).

The *Vishṇudharmottara* suggests the depiction of only eight planets omitting Ketu: *ashṭau vā tatra kartavyā grahāḥ ketuvivarjitāḥ, sūryas śukrah kujo rāhus sauris chandro budho guruḥ, krameṇānena kartavyam tatra rājan grahāshṭakam*, (3, 85, 52-53). This is specially interesting as in the Gupta period, and even up to the seventh-eighth centuries, Ketu was kept out of the row of *grahas* or planets represented (Fig. 39). It is again a pointer to an early date for the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

Added to this is the evidence of the Vākāṭaka paintings in the Ajaṇṭā caves, that is revealing, when examined in detail with passages in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, that throw a flood of light on the proper understanding of several technical details in the paintings themselves.

Yet another pointer to the early date of the *Vishṇudharmottara* is the wholesale absorption of portions of the *Chitrasūtra* in the *Chitralakshaṇa* of the Buddhist *Tanjur*, which as a text on art was obscure for over sixty years in its German translation, and fortunately is more accessible now for study in its English version. The striking similarity of whole passages, even details of descriptions, classifications, identical phraseology that can be seen through even a translation of the third or fourth remote, is all telling. The English rendering is from the German version of the Tibetan form of the original Sanskrit text that was lost quite long ago. And yet the rendering in each case has been so faithful and literal that the close parallelism

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between the *Vishṇudharmottara* and the *Chitralakshaṇa* can be easily established. It is clear from the vast internal evidence in the *Vishṇudharmottara* to establish its early date. The fact that the *Chitralakshaṇa* is mentioned by Bhaṭṭotpala the commentator of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* establishes the lower limit of date for this text that has been dovetailed in the Buddhist text. As it is a non-Buddhist text incorporated in discordance with the main text of the Buddhist *Tanjur*, and as it draws its substance from the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, this latter should have been sufficiently well known as an early text on painting for the other to arise out of it. All this becomes clear from a careful perusal of the text of the *Chitralakshaṇa*. Bhaṭṭotpala's date 966 A.D. is the later limit of this text. It may possibly be a couple of centuries earlier but in any case much later than the *Vishṇudharmottara*. The borrowal of one from the other reminds one of the similar verbatim copy of the seventeenth century *Śivatatvaratnākara* from the twelfth century *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*.

The *Chitralakshaṇa* from the Tibetan *Tanjur* translated by Berthold Laufer into German over sixty years ago is now available in an English translation by B.N. Goswamy and Dahmen-Dallapicolla. The original of this in Sanskrit having been lost long ago, the reference to it by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* could not make it any better known. Even when its German version was made available, it was very little known except to a few as a fairly early text on Indian art. The English rendering of it has enabled it to be studied and understood better.

The text commences with a salutation to Brahmanical deities like Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā, Pārvatī, Kamalā, Sarasvatī, Indra, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Agni, Prajāpati and Viśvakarmā, and is quite an incongruous addition in the Buddhist *Tanjur*. The only justification for its inclusion in this text, as Dr. Goswamy puts it, is that in the absence of any other Buddhist work on painting the Buddhists readily incorporated it in their book. But it was included without camouflaging it and destroying its non-Buddhist character.

The text, however, on close examination turns out to be very close to the *Vishṇudharmottara* of which it is almost a verbatim copy,

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with this difference, that the origin of painting here is a different legend from the one in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, while the main principles on the mode of *chitra* that the king learnt from Brahmā are a copy of a portion of the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. The *Chitralakshaṇa* gives only the proportions and measurements of *mahāpurushas* and the classification of major types like Hamsa, Bhadra, Mālavya, Ruchaka and Śaśaka. Since the Sanskrit text is lost the terms used are reconstructed from the Tibetan. The word Sādhu given for a saint could be Hamsa, the word in the *Vishṇudharmottara* also meaning a saintly one. Balin is probably Bhadra. Mālava is the same as Mālavya of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. Vyañjana and Giridhara are to be equated with Śaśaka and Ruchaka. Their diminishing proportions in their order are 108 digits for the highest, the Chakravartin, 106 for the Sādhu, i.e, two digits shorter, 104 for the Mālava, i.e, four digits shorter, 100 for the Vyañjana, i.e, eight digits shorter, and 98 for the Giridhara, i.e, ten digits shorter (*Chitralakshaṇa* p. 81 and 105). This may be compared with *śatam ashṭādhikam bhavet, shaḍuttaram, chaturbhir adhikam, śatam, daśonam* in the *Vishṇudharmottara* text (3, 35, 9-11).

The special detail of the measure, their own respective *aṅgula (svenaivāṅgulimānena śatam ashṭādhikam bhavet, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 35, 9) is repeated in the *Chitralakshaṇa* 'it should amount to 108 digits according to the measurements of his own finger' (p 81). The calculation of *aṇu, kalā, yava, aṅgula* though defined in the *Chitralakshaṇa* is taken as understood in the *Vishṇudharmottara* as in other Śilpa texts. The elaborate proportions in *aṅgulas* of the forehead, face, nose, lips, chin, ear, eye, neck, chest, abdomen, waist, thigh, shank, foot, toes and fingers, the *tālamāna* and all the other details given in both the texts are practically identical.

The classification of the eyes into *chāpākṛiti, matsyodara, utpalapatrābha, padmapatranibha* and *śaṅkhākṛiti* with measurements is given here exactly as in the *Vishṇudharmottara* as well as the use of each in its context, *chāpākṛiti* for the sight in *yoga* meditation, *matsyodara* for women and lovers, *utpalapatrābha* for normal ordinary individuals, *padmapatranibha* for the frightened and crying, and *śaṅkhākṛiti* for the angered and pain-tormented

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(*Chitralakshaṇa* p. 84). It is a verbatim narration again of the description of the eyes as well, as for instance the eyes like *utpala* are red at the corners with black shining pupils, the lashes long-pointed and pleasing, soft and delicate in lustre; and when painted for the gods would increase the prosperity of all beings. It can be seen how the text of the *Vishṇudharmottara* exactly answers the translation of the *Chitralakshaṇa* amazingly. One has only to read *chāpākāram bhavennetram yogabhūminirīkshaṇāt matsyodarākṛiti kāryam nārīṇām kāmināṃ tathā, netram utpalapatrābham nirvikārasya śasyate trastasya rudatas chaiva padmapatranibham bhavet, kruddhasya vedanārtasya netram śaṁkhākṛiti bhavet* (*Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 37, 12-15) and *netram utpalapatrābham raktāntam kṛishṇatārakam, prasannam dīrghapakshmāntam manojñam mṛidusattamam, devatānām kṛitam rājan prajāhitakaram bhavet, same gokshīravarṇābhe snigdhe jihmāgrapakshmale, prasanne padmanetrānte manojñe priyadarśane, kṛishṇatāre viśāle cha nayane śrīsukhaprade* (*Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 38, 1-3) against the translation of the *Chitralakshaṇa* 'That which relates to the eyes of Kings, their length and width has already been described. In the case of Yogis, their eyes, bespeaking of equanimity, should be made to resemble a bow made of bamboo. In the case of women and lovers should be made eyes that resemble the belly of a fish. In the case of ordinary persons, eyes that resemble an utpala should be adopted. It is laid down that to express fright and crying, eyes resembling the petal of a padma lotus should be used. The eyes of those troubled by anger and grief should be painted resembling a cowrie shell. Eyes resembling an utpala petal are red at the corners, the pupils are black and shiny, the lashes have long points and are pleasing with the lustre of their colour appearing in soft tones. When one has painted the eyes of the Gods, the well being of the Kings and of all beings shall increase. (The eyes of the Gods) are lustrous and rich like the colour of cow's milk, having lashes devoid of coarseness, resplendent like a petal of a padma lotus and constantly changing in their play of colours because of the blueness of the conjunctiva, with pupils black and large; the painting of eyes such as these brings riches and good fortune.' (*Chitralakshaṇa* p. 84).

The description of celestial faces (*Chitralakshaṇa* p. 86) as

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squarish, beautifully full, endowed with brilliant and pleasing marks, neither triangular nor sloping, neither angry nor round is just a translation of the Sanskrit text of the *Chitrasūtra*, *chaturasram susampūrṇam prasannam śubhalakshaṇam, atrikoṇam avakram chākruddhāvṛittam mukham bhavet, dīrghamaṇḍalavakrāṇi trikoṇādīni yāni cha, varjyāni tāni devānām prajāsu śivam ichchhatā* (*Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 38, 4-5).

Again, the description of the three-fold lines on the palms, deep and fine and of the colour of the blood of the hare, webbed fingers and toes (*jālapādakara* and *jālāṅguli*) and other *mahāpurushalakshaṇas* are all repeated in such a way that the Sanskrit *jālapādakarāḥ kāryās tathā vai chakravartinaḥ, rekhās cha karayoḥ kāryās tisro rājñām manoharāh, śaśakshatajasankāśās śastā vai kshāmakoṭikāḥ*, of the *Vishṇudharmottara* (3, 37, 5-6) exactly answers the translation of the *Chitralakshaṇa* (p. 92).

Similarly the division of hair into varieties of *kuntala, dakshiṇāvarta, taraṅga, simhakesara, vardhara* and *jūṭaṭasara* is verbatim repeated with a description of the characteristics of each (*Chitralakshaṇa* p. 98).

The idea of good fortune arriving in the trail of painting divine countenance, eyes and face according to injunctions is expressed identically in both the texts. The liné 'when one has painted the eyes of the Gods, the well being of the Kings and of all beings shall increase' (*Chitralakshaṇa* p. 84) and he who has painted such a face shall always gain earthly rewards (*Chitralakshaṇa* p. 86) is answered in the Sanskrit text *devatānām kṛitam rājan prajāhitakaram bhavet* and *prājāsu śivam ichchhatā*, *Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 38, 2, 5.

But even more startling is the praise of the art of painting as given in the *Vishṇudharmottara* repeated in the *Chitralakshaṇa*. The *Vishṇudharmottara* proclaims that as the Mount Sumeru is the preeminent among mountains, as Garuḍa is the best among the birds, as the ruler is the foremost among men, so is painting the foremost among arts : *yathā sumeruḥ pravaro nagānām yathāṇḍajānām garuḍaḥ pradhānaḥ, yathā janānām pravaraḥ kshitīśas tathā kalānām*

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iha chitrakalpaḥ, *Vishṇuddharmottara* 3, 43, 39, while the *Chitralakshaṇa* first repeats this verbatim and then with a few more additions gives it an elaboration: 'Just as the most excellent among mountains is Sumeru, and just as he who soars heavenward (Garuḍa) is the first among the egg-born, just as the king is the first among human beings, so is painting among the skills...Just as Sumeru is the foremost among mountains, just as the Gaṅgā is the foremost among rivers, and just as the Sun is the foremost among the planets, just as the King of the birds (Garuḍa) soars heavenwards, just as Indra is the first among the Gods, so is painting the foremost among skills' (*Chitralakshaṇa* p. 73).

Thus, the cumulative evidence gathered from various points of view, including the internal evidence from the description of iconography, compared with the extant sculptures representing the various deities, is all in favour of an early date of transition from Kushāṇa to Gupta with Kushāṇa features still lingering in sculptural renderings of textual descriptions.

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CHAPTER THREE

TECHNIQUE OF PAINTING

It is indeed a surprise that the *Vishṇudharmottara,* that has so elaborately discussed the preparation of the *bhūmi* or the ground and the mixing of colours in various proportions for producing a variety of shades, proportion of limbs to the main figure of the body, the principles of *kshayavṛiddhi* or foreshortening and perspective, chiaroscuro or shading the figures to suggest the effect of depth and modelling, has failed to give adequate description of the materials to be used by the painter. The tool required for drawing the sketch, the *vartikā* as it is known, *tūlikās* or brushes for painting different colours, the colour pans *mallakas* that surround the painter, the colour box or *varṇikāsamudgaka*, and several other such requisites essential for the craftsman at his work are not even mentioned, let alone elaboration on their use. Probably in this the *Chitasūtra* has been as laconic as a *sūtra* should be, and has just suggested these rather in a significant context, which makes it essential to gather from that one line or half verse as much as was very well known from general literature recording the nuances of the arts and crafts in vogue and generally well understood by contemporary folk. The line *chitra-karma samācharet śvetakādravakṛishṇābhir vartikābhir yathākramam* (3, 40, 13) names the brushes as *vartikās*, each for a shade, even in the initial stage of sketching the drawing, for white, brown and black. This is exactly what is done traditionally by painters, a sketch in white, deepened by a brown tracing over it, finally made clear with firm black outline. The word *yathākramam* suggests how one process follows the other in due succession as it should. The brushes used individually for each colour even at this stage, as

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suggested by the use of the term *vartikābhiḥ* in plural, clearly indicates the text in favour of a large number to preserve the purity of the hues wherever necessary. Bāṇa mentions separate *vartikās* for the process in black and white : *rūpālekhyonmīlanakālāñjanavartikā*, *Kādambarī* p. 527 and *varṇasudhākūrchakair iva karair dhavalitadaśāśāmukhe chandramasi*, *Kādambarī* p. 527. *Kālāñjanavartikā* is an exclusive brush for applying black. *Varṇasudhākūrchaka* is for the use of white.

The use of the word *vartikā* has itself been in a rather general sense of both a pencil and brush. The Śilpa texts like the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*, the *Śivatattvaratnākara* and the *Śilparatna* use the word exclusively for connoting a crayon or pastel for drawing. It is named *tindukavarti* in the former text, while both the latter call it *kiṭṭavarti : pūrvam tindukalekhyam syād yad vā vartikayā budhaiḥ, ākāramātrikām rekhām tinduvartivinirmitām*, *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi; ākāramātrikām rekhām kiṭṭavartivinirmitām*, *Śivatattvaratnākara; ālikhet kiṭṭavartinyā*, *Śilparatna*. Here again a distinction is made between a carefully burnt twig as a crayon and a rolled carbonaceous stump of pastille. *Tindu* is a special variety of ebony and *kiṭṭa* is a secretion coloured black with carbon and prepared as a roll or pastille or *varti* for sketching. The process of the preparation is given in the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi: khachchūram bhaktasiktena mṛiditvā kaṇṭakākṛitim, vartim kṛitvā tathā lekhyam vartikā nāma sā bhavet.*

The term is used also in the sense of a brush in a general way in literature, though some meticulous writers like Bāṇa and Kālidāsa specifically use *tūlikā* for a brush and *vartikā* for a crayon. Daṇḍin means a brush when he says *nāgadantalagnaniryāsakalkavarṇitam phalakam ādāya maṇisamudgakād varṇavartikām uddhṛitya tām tathā śayānām tasyāścha mām ābaddhāñjalim charaṇalagnam ālikham*, *Daśakumāracharita* 2, p. 99. Śrī Harsha means the same when he gives the stage direction, *tataḥ praviśati gṛihītasamudgakachitraphalakavartikā madanāvasthām nāṭayantī sāgarikā*, *Ratnāvalī* 2. Bhāsa similarly gives the term in a stage direction, *tataḥ praviśati sotkaṇṭhā vasantasenā chitraphalakam ādāya vartikākaraṇḍahastā cheṭī cha*, *Chārudatta* 4.

Even if the term is strictly meant by the text of the *Vishṇudhar-*

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mottara the line *samstambhitam chitram udārapuchchhaiḥ* (3, 40, 30) indicates the use of brushes prepared with selective animal hair like sable, squirrel, hog and so forth. This expression of the sense of the almost cryptic statement of the *Vishṇudharmottara* is essential to fully understand the range of knowledge of the text so valuable for the study of Indian aesthetic.

The *Vishṇudharmottara* discusses the preparation of the ground for painting. When this is on the wall it is known as *bhittisaṁskāra* and when on a board, *phalaka* or canvas, *paṭa*, it is *ghaṭṭana*. *Bhittisaṁskāra* is described giving elaborate directions for mixing powdered brick, gum resin, bees wax, molasses, oil, burnt lime plaster, in definite proportions, pulp of *bilva*, bark of *pichchhila*, sand and lime, all to be soaked for a month in water. The surface of the wall to be painted on has to be prepared by application of this loam, the coat neither too thick nor too thin, making it meticulously even in its surface and glossy, smoothened with clayey liquid, juice of *sarja* and oil and rubbed by repeated sprinkling of milk, so that when it is dry it could last a century.

In the case of the canvas on a board, Vidyāraṇya describes that process in his *Pañchadaśī*, *yathā dhauto ghaṭṭitaścha lāñchhito rañjitaḥ paṭaḥ*, 'like the canvas whitened, prepared, marked (i.e. sketched out) and coloured.....' The term *ghaṭṭita* or prepared is used in a very interesting earlier passage in Telugu (Fig. 40) of the tenth century of Nannechoḍa, the poet of the *Kumārasambhava*, *chitrasādhanambula goni phalaka ghaṭṭiñchi meruṁgiḍi trivaṭiñchi tiṭṭambu koladiki dechchi ṛijjvāgatambuna rekha nūlkolipi nimnonnatopāṅgamānonmānambul alavarachi salakshaṇambuga chitriñchi vannuvagolipi kandera derachina.*

The gathering of the tools and materials by the painter is referred to in the line *chitrasādhanambula goni*. The preparation of the board with canvas applied to it is described as *phalaka ghaṭṭiñchi*. The next process is *meruṁgiḍi*, which literally means 'giving brilliance'. Even in the preparation of the wall as described in the *Vishṇudharmottara* glossy brilliance is stressed in the line *ślakshṇīkuryād prayatnena lepanaiḥ* (3, 40, 8).

That 'brilliance' was reckoned a vital factor in a painting is

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indicated by references such as in Vāmana's *Kavyālaṅkārasūtravṛitti*, where the highest literary quality is equated with the best in a work of art : *aujjvalyam kāntir ityāhur guṇam guṇaviśāradāḥ purāṇachitrasthānīyam tena vandhyam kaver vachaḥ*, people who know well the

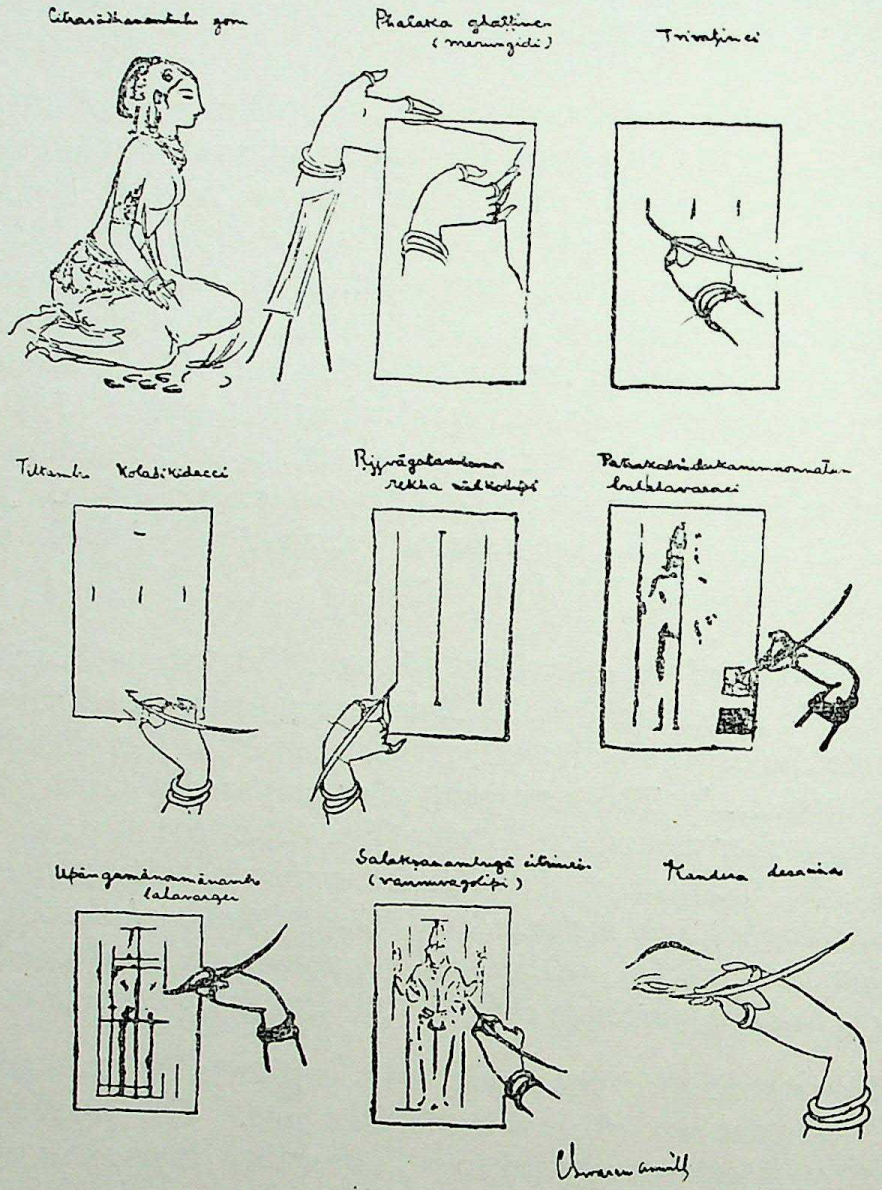

Fig. 40. Process of painting in its various stages

merits of a work recognise the merit of brilliance as (of the nature of) lustre; the words of the poet which lack it are like an old picture devoid of a fresh glow of colours.

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In his *Vakroktijīvita* Rājānaka Kuntaka uses the word *chhāyā* in the sense of *aujjvalya* in the context of a painting, and commenting on his line *manojñaphalakollekhavarṇachchhāyāśrīyaḥ pṛithak*, 'different from the grandeur of excellent board, drawing, colour and brilliance...', he pronounces it as *chhāyā kāntiḥ*. Rājaśekhara, among other poets, is against *purāṇachchhāyā*, old, dull colour in a picture, and attaches great importance to *aujjvalya*, as he expresses in his line *dhūmaśyāmapurāṇachitrarachanārūpam jagajjāyate*, the world appears (at sunset) like an old picture dimmed by smoke.

Kānti or *aujjvalya* is again specially stressed in summing up the merits of a good painting as it sets off the prowess of a master who can use his excellence in aesthetic production to advantage by stress on pleasing stances for figures, brilliance in hue, portraiture of emotions and grace in situations, as all these gladden the eye inviting attention and assuring all that the heart desires: *iti vichakshaṇabuddhivikalpitaiḥ karaṇakāntivilāsarasādibhiḥ, likhitam īkshaṇalochanam ādarād bhavati chitram abhīpsitakāmadam*, *Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 42, 84.

The *Vishṇudharmottara* at this stage mentions the setting of a *bhūmilambha* as a permanent factor for each picture: *sthānair anekakaraṇais sthirabhūmilambhaiḥ kāryam tad eva sukumāram ajihmarekham* (3, 37, 17). There are six *guṇas* or merits in a picture depending on the excellence of six important factors in it. One of these is *bhūlambha: sthānapramāṇabhūlambhā madhuratvam vibhaktatā, sādṛiśyam kshayavṛiddhī cha guṇās chitrasya kīrtitāḥ* (3, 41, 9). Again, when *bhūlambha* stands out prominently in a picture, and seems to be merged in the painting itself, and the picture, with its sweet depiction of flavour, seems almost to smile and surge or scintillate with life, it is most praiseworthy: *lasatīva cha bhūlambho ślishyatīva tathā nṛipa, hasatīva cha mādhuryam sajīva iva dṛiśyate* (3, 43, 21). The exact connotation of *bhūmilambha* or *bhūlambha* is not quite clear, nor even the correct spelling of the word itself. Fortunately the expression occurs in the *Haravijaya* of Rājānaka Ratnākara, where he spells it as *bhūmilābha*, and gives it a very important place in judging the merit of a painting, much as in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. The commentator, Rājānaka Alaka, who enlightens us on several points in the poem, is unfortunately silent on this. By the use of

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pun on the words in the verse, the poet achieves the elucidation of royal policy in statecraft on the analogy of painting with a brush on canvas: *sabhūmilābham śubhavartirekhayā manoramam maṇḍalakāryam askhalat, aśesham unmīlayati kshamābhṛitām vichitrarūpā nanu nītitūlikā*, *Haravijaya* 12, 30. Gaining territory, unswerving in duty to the state, so pleasing to the mind in its pointedness to happy being, the brush of statecraft of rulers, is indeed interestingly variegated, as creating a great painting with proper background, unswaying in its composition of lines, so pleasing and auspiciously sketched in proper curvatures, and finally opening up the life-infusing touches. Here the idea of *bhūlābha* or *bhūmilābha*, as it should read, is the appropriate background in a picture.

The *Vishṇudharmottara* has elaborated on the *sthānas* and even suggested that so much has to be gathered from what has been elaborated in dance. The *sthānas* and *karaṇas* are both mentioned. Their elaboration in *chitra* is by following the directions in *nāṭya* as *nṛitta* itself is a momentary fleeting *chitra: yathā nṛitte tathā chitre trailokyānukṛitis smṛitā, dṛishṭayas tu tathā bhāvā aṅgopāṅgāni sarvaśaḥ, karās cha ye matā nṛitte pūrvoktā nṛipasattama, ta eva chitre vijñeyā nṛittam chitram param matam* (3, 35, 5-7). Since however *pramāṇa* is peculiarly intimately connected with *chitra*, the text continues to elaborate it in the *Chitrasūtra: nṛitte pramāṇam yannoktam tat pravakshyāmyatas śruṇu* (3, 35, 7). And then the different male and female types, their proportion and characteristics, are all elaborated, *haṁsa*, *bhadra*, *mālavya*, *ruchaka*, *śaśaka* and so forth. *Madhuratva* is making the picture appealing by the infusion of *bhāva*. The *rasas*, flavours or moods that distinguish paintings, their choice in individual homes and public buildings, is all discussed at great length. *Vibhaktatā* is achieved by *vartanā* or the threefold method of shading possible both in monochrome and polychrome. This has also been described elaborately in its context. *Sādṛiśya* is the element of varacity to nature and the element of portraiture is also here brought (Fig. 41). This has been more elaborately described in the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* and styled *viddhachitra*: *sādṛiśyam likhyate yattu darpaṇe pratibimbavat, tachchitram viddham ityāhur viśvakarmādayo budhāḥ*. It is so mentioned by Dhanapāla in his line *dvīpāntararājakanyakābhir anudivasam apahāryamāṇachitraphalakāropitaviddharūpaḥ, Tilakamañ-*

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Fig 41. Portrait of Gaja Singh, 17th century A.D., Ajmer-Marwar area, Rajasthan, National Museum.

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jarī p. 133. The title of Rājasekhara's drama *Viddhasālabhañjikā* is based on a portrait. *Kshayavṛiddhi* is the important technique of foreshortening that arises when certain postures, angles of view, are depicted (Fig. 42, 43, 44) and has been discussed at some length in the text. In this context it is clear that *bhūlambha* is the appropriate background in the picture, where the composition is complete only when the figures are arranged in their proper context of time and place.

In the passage from Nannechoḍa the next process described is marking the principal lines that compose the figure and give an idea of the general proportion: *tiṭṭambu koladiki dechchi*, 'having adjusted the proportions to proper measurement.' The determining of the proportions of individual figures composing a painting, or even the limbs of individual single subject, in accordance with the laws of foreshortening and perspective — important factors in the composition sketch — is emphasised as one of the *chitraguṇas* (merits) in the *Vishṇudharmottara* under the head *pramāṇa* (proportion). It should be clearly understood that proportion is not symmetry. When the artist faithfully depicts the world around him as he sees it, he is following proportions without reference to symmetry. The latter is an ideal condition. Correctly mirrored and blocked out in proper proportions, the ugly one is proportionate in ones 'disproportionate' proportions. But in the case of the ideal figure its proportions form symmetry. It is here and here alone that both the words mean the same thing. And it is just such a state that is emphasised by Vālmīki in the lines that describe Rāma perfectly proportioned and in perfect symmetry *samas samavibhaktāṅgaḥ, Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 33, 16. The first word *sama* makes a positive assertion that Rāma was proportionate in form, no limb of his being a milimetre more or less than sufficient to make up ideal beauty. The next word *samavibhaktāṅgaḥ* states that his limbs were symmetrically separated and arranged.

In the context of *māna* or proportion, the division of the limbs in terms of *tāla* measurement is elaborately discussed in the *Vishṇudharmottara. Tāla* is made up of twelve inches *dvādaśāṅgulavistāras tāla ityabhidhīyate* 3, 35, 11. The foot up to the ankle is three inches, whence up to the knee is two *tālas*, the knee three inches

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like the foot, the thigh two *tālas*, a *tāla* each from the navel to the penis, from the navel to the heart, and from the heart to the throat,

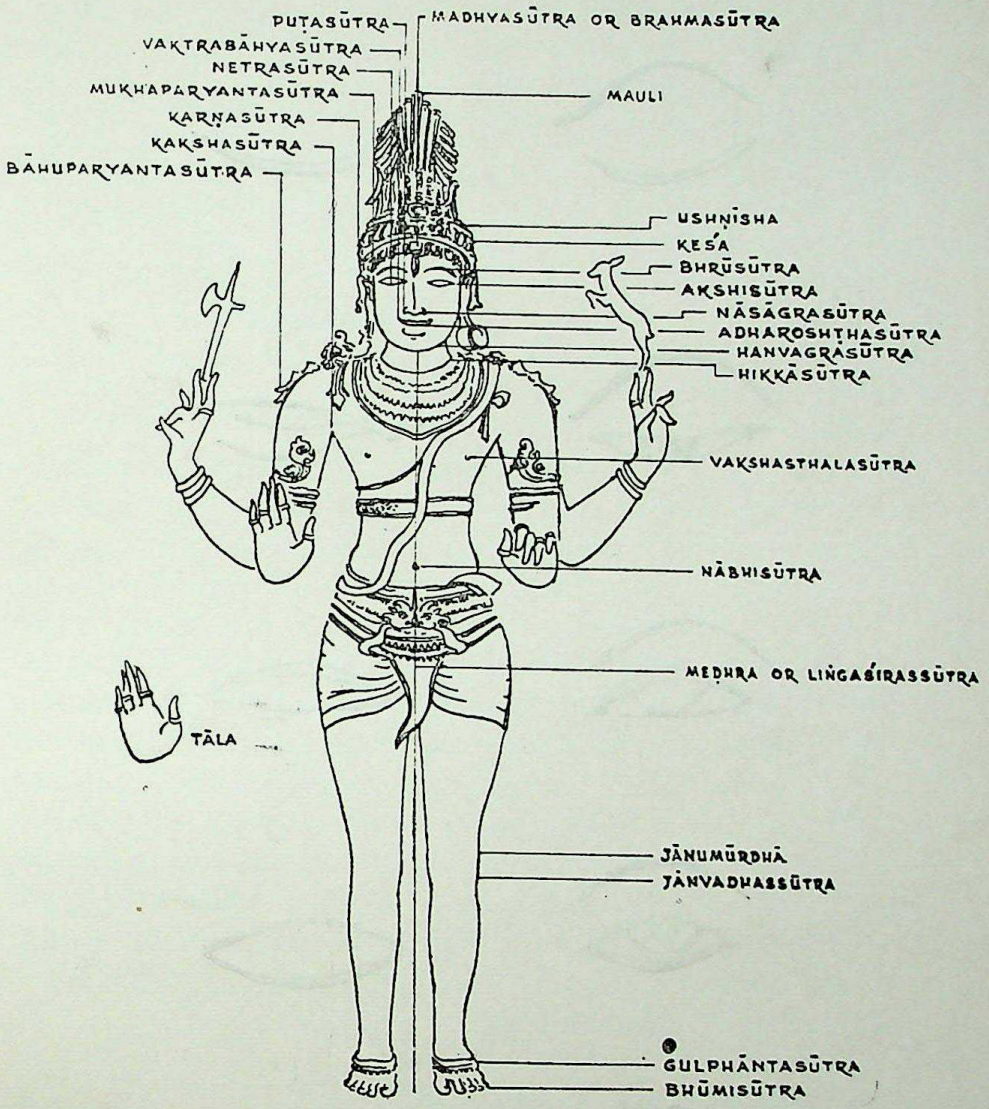

Fig 45. *Tālamāna* measurements.

the neck a third of a *tāla*, the face a *tāla*, the head beyond one sixth of a *tāla*, the hand a *tāla*, the forearm and arm seventeen inches each, and so forth (Fig. 45). The eyes are divided into varieties (Fig. 46) like *chāpākāra*, bow-like, *matsyodara*, fish-belly, *utpalapatrābha*, blue-lotus-like, *padmapatranibha*, lotus-like and *śaṅkhākṛiti*, circular like the conch, and they are reckoned in terms of their measurement in *yavas*.

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The first, *chāpākāra*, used in the case of depiction of meditation, is of three *yavas*; *matsyodara*, for depicting feminine and lovelorn eyes, is

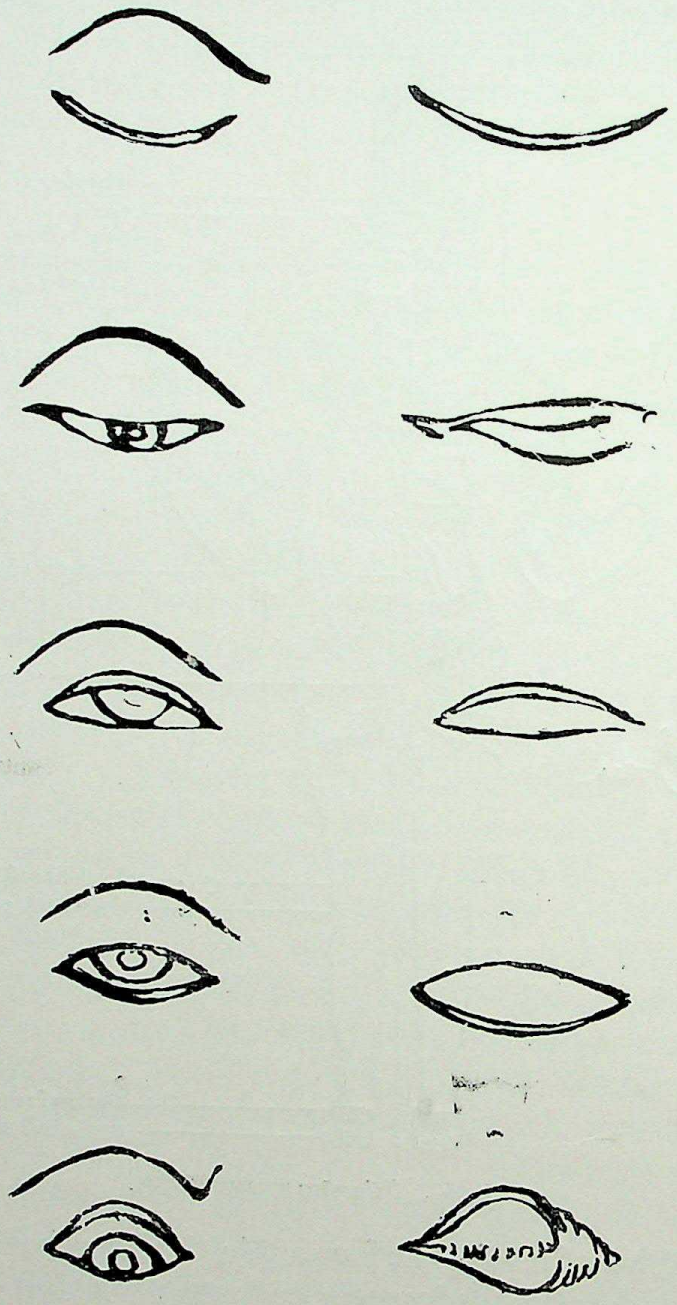

Fig. 46. Eye varieties, *chāpākāra, matsyodara, utpalapatrābha, padmapatranibha, śaṅkhākṛiti.*

four *yavas; utpalapatrābha*, for depicting a placid look, is six *yavas; padmapatranibha*, to show the frightened and the weeping, is nine

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yavas; śaṁkhākṛiti, for suggesting the angered and the one experiencing deep pain, is to be ten *yavas*.

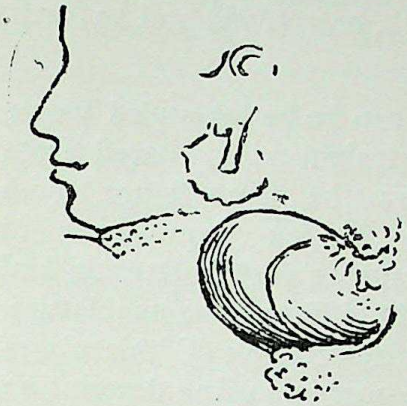

Fig. 47. *Kuntala*

The varieties of hair-do are also interesting. It is *kuntala* or long flowing hair (Fig. 47, 53), *dakshiṇāvarta* or curling to the right (Fig. 48, 54), *taraṁga* or wavy (Fig. 49, 55), *siṁhakesara* or mane-like (50, 56), *vardhara* sticking out dishevelled (Fig. 51), and *jūṭaṭasara* or matted (Fig. 52).

The next reference of Nannechoḍa is to the stance or position chosen for the figure. He mentions *ṛijjvāgatambuna rekha nūlkolipi*, 'having drawn the line, according to the measurements with the help of the thread, in accordance with *ṛijjvāgata*. *Ṛijjvāgata* is one of the postures listed in the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. There is hardly any *Śilpa* text that does not mention them. The mention of the term by Nannechoḍa shows us that he was quite familiar with the terminology of the *Śilpins*. The threefold division of the figure into the marks of the *bahissūtra* and *brahmasūtra*, suggested by the word *trivaṭiñchi*, is most significant in the case of *ṛijjvāgata* where the division is of equal parts. The part of the phrase *rekha nūlkolipi* means that the line is drawn in accordance with and to follow the line of the string, i.e. the plumb line, that is naturally vertical and straight and facilitates the artist's sketching a correct figure with symmetrical proportions. The word *nūlkolipi* is interesting as it corresponds exactly to *sūtrita* in the line of Kalhaṇa *chitrasūtritāviva tau sthitau*, *Rājataraṁgiṇī* 8, 2587, the two were like figures in a picture sketched with the help of the thread line.

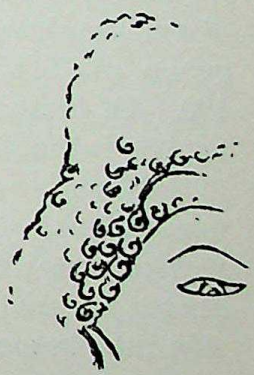

Fig. 48. *Dakshiṇāvarta*

Fig. 49. *Taraṁga*

Ṛijjvāgata is the first of a number of important postures (Fig 57) enumerated and described at length in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. They are *ṛijjvāgata, anṛiju, sāchīkṛitaśarīra, ardhavilochana, pārśvagata,*

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parāvṛitta, pṛishṭhagata, purāvṛitta and *samanata*. *Kshayavṛiddhi* or foreshortening is then explained and, in that context, several special poses as of archers and others like *vaiśākha, ālīḍha, pratyālīḍha* and so forth.

Fig. 50. *Simhakesara*

The nine postures can be better styled views, as they are the same straight *ṛiju*, viewed from different angles, to show the same figure, with portions of the body hidden from view in different proportions, causing foreshortening, and on that account styled in different nomenclature. The *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* gives a clear description of this classification. And this helps understanding the corresponding description in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. The *Śilparatna* and the *Śivatattvaratnākara* follow the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*. The first five named in this text are *ṛiju, ardharju, sāchika, dvyardhākshi, bhittika* or *pārśvagata*: *riju syāt prathamam sthānam anyad ardharjusamjñitam, tṛitīyam sthānakam sāchi turyam dvyardhākshisamjñakam, pañchamam bhittikam prāhus tadjñāḥ pārśvagatam cha tat, Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* 1, 3, 189-190. Of these the first four are frontal views, while the last is the side view. All these five correspond to the first five enumerated in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. Thus *ṛiju* is *ṛijvāgata, ardharju* is *anṛiju, sāchika* is *sāchīkṛitaśarīra, dvyardhākshi* is *ardhavilochana* and *bhittika* or *pārśvagata* is *pārśvāgata*. The *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* takes the *parāvṛitta* as fourfold and these correspond to the last four of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. They are side views from the rear. *ṛijvādi pañcha pūrvam syāt parāvṛittas chaturvidham, sthānakāni navaiva syus chitralekhavidhim prati, Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* 1, 3, 191. The text of the *Vishṇudharmottara* which does not give the proportion of *kshaya* and *vṛiddha* has to be understood by the clear mention in the text of the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*. The central vertical line *brahmasūtra*, in relation to its position to the vertical side lines *bahissūtra*, determines *ṛiju, ardharju*

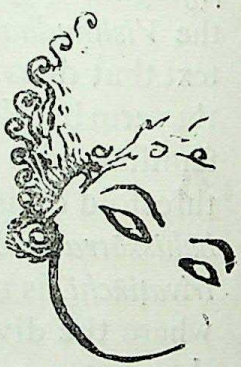

Fig. 51. *Vardhara*

Fig. 52. *Jūṭaḷasara*

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and the rest. In the case of *ṛiju* it is 6:6, *ardharju* is 8:4, *sāchika* is 10:2 and *dvyardhākshi* is 11:1, *bhittika* is a complete side view, and so is practically the same from both sides, having no front or rear view. As all the three *sūtras* merge there is no separate *brahmasūtra*. *Ṛiju* is equally divided in its *sūtra* lines and is 6:6; *brahmasūtrād bahissūtre shaṭ shaḍaṅgulamadhyame, yat tat syāt ṛijusamsthānam rūpam syān*

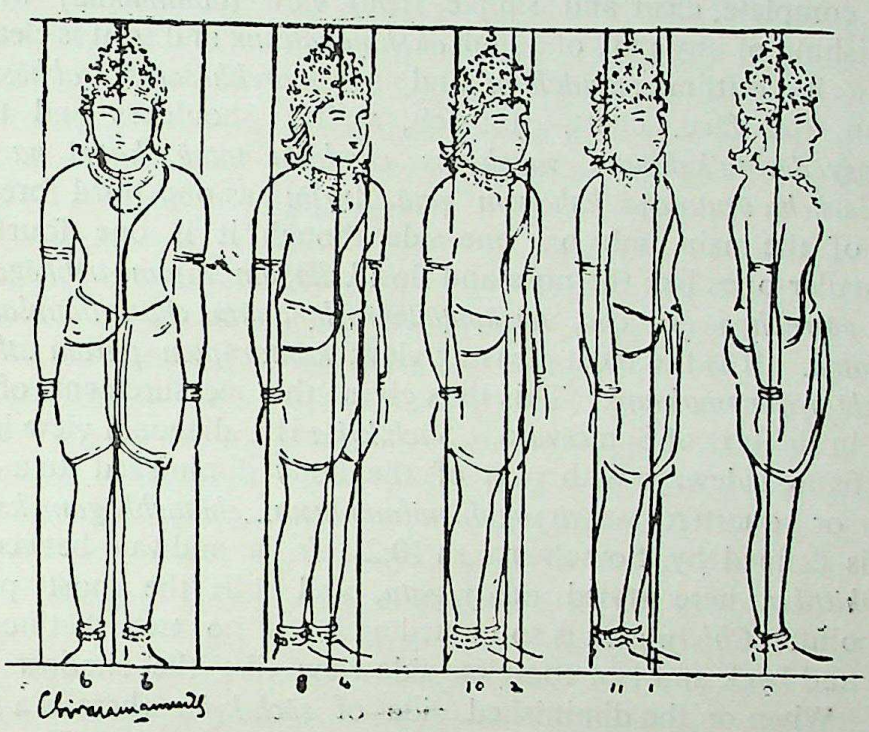

Fig. 57. *Sthānas: rijvāgatu, anṛiju, sāchīkṛitaśarīra, ardhavilochana, pārśvagata*

mukhyayoni tat, 1, 3, 193. In the case of *ardharju* the division between the central and side lines is 8:4, *antaram brahmasūtrasya pakshasūtrasya chaikataḥ ashṭāṅgulam tato 'nyatra chaturaṅgulam antaram* 1, 3, 193-194. The arrangement of the *sūtra* lines in *sāchika* is 10:2, *aṅgulāni daśaikatra kalāmātram tato' nyataḥ, antaram brahmasūtrasya pakshasūtradvayasya cha, sāchīsthānam samākhyātam ūrdhvasūtrasthitikramāt*, 1, 3, 195-196. In *dvyardhākshi* the arrangement is 11:1, *ekatraikāṅgulam yasmin anyatraikādaśāṅgulam, madhye dvyardhākshike sthāne lambasūtram kramād bhavet*, 1, 3, 197. In the *bhittika* all the three *sūtras* converge and appear one line, *pakshasūtradvayam*

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tishṭhed brahmasūtram na dṛiśyate, lambasūtrakramo hyesha bhittike samudāhṛitaḥ, 1, 3, 198.

In the *Vishṇudharmottara* there are significant phrases that explain the proportions that make up these poses, and clarify an otherwise corrupt and rather involved text. In the case of *ṛijvāgata* it is a complete, clear and simple front view (*abhimukha*) with no diminishing of any part of a limb *akshīṇagātram*; and so it is clear and neat in its outline *suśuddham* and *spashṭarekhāsamskārabhūshitam*, full in the face, chest, stomach, waist, shoulders and thighs: *mukhasyādāvato'kshīṇam vakshasas chodarāt tathā, kaṭyā na skandhadeśāchcha ūrutaścha kshayam gatā. Anṛiju* has one third foreshortening of the main limbs on one side though it is one fourth for the smaller ones like the nose and lips: *kshayam nītam tribhāgam cha yasya gātrebhya eva cha, nāsāpuṭādharoshṭhānām chaturthāmśam cha buddhitaḥ.* It is the most pleasing view: *kāntarūpam param sthānam, etachchānṛijunāmoktam.* This thus gives the measurement of 8:4 as given in the text of Someśvara. *Sāchīkṛita* is a diagonal view indicating a figure sideways with part of the body diminished to a *chaturbhāga* or quarter: *yat tiryagbhūmilambhena...chaturbhāgam kshīṇam.* This is defined by Someśvara as 10:2. It is midway between *ṛiju* and *bhittika*, here styled *chhāyāgata*, and it is the most pleasing viewpoint. *Chhāyāgata* is so named as it has no two distinct sides front and back and is a complete side view like the shadow on the wall. When on the diminished side of *sāchīkṛita* there is a further reduction of a half it is *ardhavilochana.* It thus answers Someśvara's measure of 11:1. In the case of the *bhittika* or *pārśvagata* there is also the term *chhāyāgata* used, as it is the same when seen from either side, presenting only one eye, eyebrow, ear, nostril, half lip, half chin and so on, the rest hidden from view. In other words it is a complete side view: *chāyāgatam iti proktam paryāyeṇaitad eva tu, yasyāvalokyate pārśvam dakshiṇam savyam eva vā, kṛitsnam anyat kshayāyātam aṅgam aṅgagatis tathā, ekāksham ekabhrūlekhādharanāsālalāṭavat, ekam śrotram yadardham syāchchibukārdham śiroruham.* The rest of the four views that make up the nine are views from the rear. That is why *parāvṛitta* is styled *gaṇḍaparāvṛitta* and is elucidated by saying it is a view from the rear: *pṛishṭhato yad api vyaktam dehabandham manoharam, etad gaṇḍaparāvṛittam, sthānam cha parikīrtitam.* The terms

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pṛishṭhagata and *parivṛitta* are significant in this that they suggest the back view. *Pṛishṭhagata* shows a little of the eye (side glance), cheek and so forth: *īshachha darśitāpāṅgam kapolajaṭhare punaḥ.* This is to be represented in drawings and sculpted figures in panels, *lekhyeshu pustadeśeshu.* Nearly *chhāyāgata* or *bhittika* from the rear, showing quite a portion of the body except where it is diminished, is *parivṛitta, sthitepyabhimukhe'rdhāṅge parivṛittivaśād bhavet kiñch-chichhāyāgatam kāryam.* It corresponds to the frontal pose *ardhavilochana* where the view of the buttocks is complete and the toes are hidden completely and nothing of the face or neck is visible, it is *samanata*, full rear view *samagradṛishṭasphigdeśam...luptapādāṅ-gulītalam...adṛishṭamukhakandharam.*

Now to continue Nannechoḍa's text there are two more stages of work described in the rather long phrase that follows: *patraka-bindukanimnonnatāpāṅgamānonmānambul alavarachi.* Here the last word *alavarachi*, meaning 'having settled the measure of', is to go with both *patrakabindukanimnonnatambulu* and *upāṅgamānonmānam-bulu* separately. In the Western world of painters we have *chiaroscuro*, that is gradation of light to dark in a picture in order to produce the effect of volume on the flat surface of the canvas. It is the study of values of light and dark in the case of individual pictures that is meant by the phrase *patrakabindukanimnonnatambul alavarachi*, i.e. 'having measured the heights and depths (shown by lights and shades), resulting from the methods of *patraka* and *binduka*'. There are three ways of depicting light and shade, namely *patraka*, *binduka* and *raikhika*, according to the *Vishṇudharmottara, tisras cha vartanāḥ proktāḥ patraraikhikabindujāḥ*, 3, 41, 5. These correspond approximately to cross-hatching, line shading and stip-pling (Fig. 3). Though the third one is not mentioned in the text of Nannechoḍa, the passage is nevertheless most important as the only literary reference to the different kinds of *vartana* as given in the oldest text on painting extant. It is regarding the third name that there is some difficulty, because of the corrupt nature of the text of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, and it is a great pity that this passage has not included that word. But the definition in this text clarifies it. *patrākṛitibhī rekhābhiḥ kathitā patravartanā, atīva kathitā sūkshmā tathā raikhikavartanā, tathā cha stambhanāyuktā kathitā binduvartanā* 3,41,6-7,

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'*patravartanā* is so called as it is composed of lines crosshatched in leaf pattern, *raikhika vartanā* is composed of very fine lines, *binduvartanā* is because it is effected by stippling'.

There is, however, some light shed on the enigma of the third mode of *vartana* from an unexpected source, the Kannaḍa text of the *Kallināṭha Purāṇa*, which, like another important Kannaḍa work *Kavirājamārga*, gives valuable references to details of painting and the technical terms that correspond to and confirm the terminology gathered from Sanskrit. One such is *vartana* or shading to produce the illusory effect of depth on a flat surface. There are three terms used, *patraka*, *binduka* and *anilaka*. The last is given in the *Vishṇudharmottara* as *hairika* or *āhairika* or *raikhika* to connote very fine line shading. This Kannaḍa terminology is given by B.V.K. Sastri in his book on Karṇāṭaka Chitra Kalā. The word in the Kannaḍa text has probably a stress on not only fine line work but indicates a somewhat shaky sketch of lines after the movement of the flames of fire.

The next stage, *upāṅgamānonmānambul alavarachi* is the measuring of the different limbs in proportion to the body, the hands and legs, for instance, in proportion to the trunk, and the fingers, etc., in conformity with the measure of the other limbs. This is the method of adjusting the height of the figure to the breadth and continuing it throughout in the case of every inch of each member of the body. This done, the picture is fixed in its proportions throughout and all that remains to be done is a neat sketch of the figure, which is described as the next process.

The phrase *salakshaṇambugā chitriñchi* shows that, now that the proportions are fixed and tonal values arranged, the strong outline is drawn. Since the light values were already set, it is to be presumed that lights and shades are indicated on the canvas with colours, which are described as used next, in the phrase, *vannuva golipi*, 'having coloured measuring out their tones'. The *Vishṇudharmottara* brings in the discussion of colours and colouring at exactly this stage, after sketching is completed, taking proportions and postures into account: *ālikhya sthāpayed vidvān pramāṇe sthānake tathā, tatas tu rañjayed raṅgair yathāsthānānurūpataḥ*, 3, 40, 14.

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Here there is a suggestion of the manipulation of colours, tones and values. The lighter and darker tones manipulated in manifold form are mentioned both in the *Chitrasūtra* and also in the *āhārya* section of the *Nṛittasūtra*: *śyāmā gaurī tathā tasya chhavis syāt tām pradarśayet, tasyās cha lakshaṇam proktam prāṅ mayā, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 40, 15.

The primary colours (*mūlaraṅga*) are five, white, red, yellow, black and green. By mixing one, two or three of the colours and by a manipulation of the imagination of the artist, there is no limit to the numerous finer varieties of tints that can be produced: *śveto raktas tathā pītaḥ kṛishṇo harita eva cha, mūlavarṇās samākhyātāḥ pañcha pārthivasattama, ekadvitrisamāyogāt bhāvakalpanayā tathā, saṅkhyaivāntaravarṇānām loke kartum na śakyate, Nṛittasūtra* in *Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 27, 8-9. There is a lighter tone in every colour and a darker one, each composed of several shades. As an example of the major colours, white and black, the shades are enumerated as five of the former and twelve of the latter, illustrating them with reference to the tints of objects that they resemble in their hues. They are thus respectively golden white, ivory white, sandal white, white as the autumnal cloud and moon white; and reddish dark, dark like the *mudga* pulses, dark as the *dūrvā* grass, pale dark, greenish dark, yellowish dark, dark like the *priyaṅgu* creeper, dark as a monkey's face, dark as a blue lily, dark like the *chāsha* bird, dark as a red lotus and dark as a laden cloud; and such a colour variety enhances the charm and value: *dviprakārā chhavir yasmāt sarvasyeha prakīrtitā, gaurī pañchavidhā tatra śyāmā dvādaśadhā bhavet, rukmagaurī dantagaurī sphuṭachandanagauryapi, śaradghanābhagaurī chandragaurī pañchavidhā smṛitā, raktaśyāmā bhavet pūrvam mudgaśyāmā tvanantaram, tato dūrvāṅkuraśyāmā pāṇḍuśyāmā cha pārthiva, tatas cha haritaśyāmā pītaśyāmā tato bhavet, tataḥ priyaṅguśyāmā cha kapiśyāmā cha pārthiva tato nīlotpalaśyāmā chāshaśyāmā tataḥ param, tato raktotpalaśyāmā ghaṇaśyāmā tathā parā, dravyānūrupair varṇais tu tāsām vyaktir udāhṛitā, raṅgavyatikarais śobhām adhikṛitya mahīyate, Vishṇudharmottara, 3, 27, 11-16.*

This is given similarly in the *Chitrasūtra* in the verses *mūlaraṅgās smṛitāḥ pañcha śvetaḥ pīto vilohitaḥ, kṛishṇo nīlas cha rājendra*

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śataśo'ntaratas smṛitāḥ. Here again is repeated the potential of mixed tints by suggesting first the deciding of the colours to be used, the manipulation of the artist's imagination, and the creation of tints in hundreds and thousands according to the taste and genius of the painter: *pūrvam raṅgavibhāgena bhāvakalpanayā tathā, svabuddhyā kārayed raṅgam śataśotha sahasraśaḥ, Vishṇudharmottara*, 3, 40, 17. The *Chitrasūtra* further clarifies some of the tints mentioned in the *Nṛittasūtra* like *mudgaśyāma, nīlotpalaśyāma* and *raktotpala*, by enumerating three distinct shades of each colour, as for instance white mixed with another colour like blue in lesser, equal or greater proportion: *svetādhiko vā nyūno vā samāmśas cheti sa tridhā*, 3, 40, 19. There is also the dilution or deepening of a colour like green obtained by mixing yellow and blue, by retaining it as pure green, or made pale green by adding white or deep green by aggravating blue: *nīlapītavyatikṛitiḥ palāśa iti śasyate, sa śuddhas śvetamiśras cha nīlābhyadhika eva cha* 3, 40, 18. By an enhancing or lessening of the colours mixed, there could be subtle varieties of any colour created, as for instance green as yellowish green like *dūrvā* grass, light green like the tint of the wood apple, or the husk of green pulse (*mudga*). Blue again with white mixed in lesser, equal or larger proportion could give several variations in tone like the colour of a blue lotus, or the *chāsha* bird. The pleasing dark red of the red lotus is by an admixture of red lac with white, making the tint of the *lodhra* flower, which is further deepened. This again produces many more tints in other combinations: *sa ekastambhanāyukto bahudhaivam vikalpyate, tena dūrvāṅkurāpītaḥ kapitthaharitas śubhaḥ, mudgaśyāmaprabhṛitayaḥ kartavyās chhavayo nṛipa, nīlaḥ pāṇḍurasamyukto viraṅgas so'pyanekadhā, anyonyābhyadhikam nyūnam samāmśavaśakalpanā, tena nīlotpalanibhā māshasahchchhāyasuprabhā, kriyante chhavayo ramyā yathāyogaviniśchayāt, lākshayā śvetayā yuktā lākshārodhrapinaddhayā, raktā raktotpalaśyāmā chhavir bhavati śobhanā, sāpi nānāvidhān anyān varṇān vikurute bahūn*, 3, 40, 20-24.

The colours themselves are mineral and vegetable dyes, yellow orpiment (*haritāla*), lime (*sudhā*), lac (*lākshā*), vermilion (*hiṅgulaka*) and indigo (*nīlī*), as also lapis lazuli or ultramarine (*rājavarta*), red lead (*sindūra*) and lead (*trapu*). There are also the colours from metals either as very thin and fine sheets leaf-like or as liquid. These

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are gold (*kanaka*), silver (*rajata*), copper (*tāmra*), mica (*abhraka*): *raṅgadravyāṇi kanakam rājatam tāmram eva cha, abhrakam rājavartam cha sindūram trapur eva cha, haritālam sudhā lākshā tathā hiṅgulakam nṛipa, nīlam cha manujaśreshṭha tathānye santyanekaśaḥ, deśe deśe mahārāja kāryās te stambhanāyutāḥ, lohānām patravinyāsam bhaved vāpi rasakriyā, Vishṇudharmottara*, 3, 40, 25-27.

It is amazing to see the subtle shades of colours that Bāṇa distinguishes and it is no wonder that the *Vishṇudharmottara* has suggested a myriad by clever combinations of colours in various proportions. Bāṇa points out that blue and white make the grey colour of smoke, *skandhadeśāvalambinā kṛishṇājinena nīlapāṇḍubhāsā tapastṛishṇānipītenāntar nipatatā dhūmapaṭaleneva parītamūrtiḥ, Kādambarī*, p. 72. Yellow and blue make up green: *kanakaśalākānirmitam apyantargataśukaprabhāśyāmāyamānam marakatamayam iva pañjaram, Kādambarī*, p. 21. Red and blue produce purple: *āmattakokilalochanachchhavir nīlapāṭalaḥ kashāyamadhuraḥ prakāmapīto jambūphalarasaḥ, Kādambarī* p. 36. The peculiar white of *haritālaśaila* is different from swan-white and lotus-white: *haritālaśailāvadātaḥ, Harshacharita* p. 188; *hamsadhavalā dharaṇyām apatajjyotsnā, Kādambarī* p. 96; *vikachapuṇḍarīkasite, Kādambarī*, p. 96. The colours of the *sinduvāra, karṇikāra* and *champaka* are different patterns of white: *abhinavasitasinduvārakusumapāṇḍaraiḥ, Kādambarī*, p. 96; *karṇikāragaureṇa vyāyāmavyāyatavapushā, Harshacharita* p. 69; *bakulasurabhiniśśvasitayā champakāvadātayā, Harshacharita*, p. 33. Ivory white is another variety: *dantapāṇḍarapāde śaśimaya iva, Harshacharita*, p. 70. Foam white is a colour different from all these in a subtle shade and is identical with milk-white and conch-white: *pīyūshaphenapaṭalapāṇḍaram, Harshacharita*, p. 10; *śaṅkhakshīraphenapāṇḍareṇa kshīrodeneva, Harshacharita*, p. 21. The yellowish white of the petals of the full-blown *ketaka* flower is another variety: *vikachake takīgarbhapatrapāṇḍaram rajassamghātam, Harshacharita*, p. 20.

Red is of many types. Red like the *bandhūka* flower, the *kumkumapiñjara* shade of red, *kusumbharāgapāṭala*, blood-red like a bunch of *ghātakī* flowers, *sindūra* colour of *mandāra* flowers, *māñjishṭha* red, *piñjara* like the morning sunshine, are all subtle

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varieties. The rosy colour of the dove's leg is another noteworthy tint: *tasya chādharamaṇer dīdhitayo vikasitabandhūkavanarājayaḥ, Harshacharita*, p. 29; *kumkumapiñjaritapṛishṭhasya charaṇayugalasya, Harshacharita*, p. 31; *kusumbharāgapāṭalam pulakabandhachitram, Harshacharita*, p. 32; *rudhirakuṭūhalikesarikiśorakalihyamānakaṭhoṛaghātakīstabake, Harshacharita*, p. 47; *lohitāyamānamandarasindūrasīmni, Harshacharita*, p. 47; *māñjishṭharāgalohite kiraṇajāle, Kādambarī*, p. 53; *bālātapapiñjarā iva rajanyaḥ, Kādambarī*, p. 105; *pārāvatapādapāṭalarāgaḥ, Kādambarī*, p. 94.

There are many varieties of green such as parrot green, of the colour of the plantain leaf, emerald green, and dark green of the *tamāla* type: *śukaharitais cha kadalīvanaiḥ, Kādambarī*, p. 42; *marakataharitānām, Kādambarī*, p. 379; *taruṇataratamālaśyāmale, Harshacharita*, p. 28.

There are different types of grey like the smoke colour, the colour of the ass's skin, the grey of the dove, the grey of a pigeon's neck, and the colour of the *śaphara's* belly: *krishṇājinena nīlapāṇḍubhāsā...dhūmapaṭalaneva, Kādambarī*, p. 72; *rāsabharomadhūsarāsu, Kādambarī*, p. 52; *vanadevatāprāsādānām tarūṇām śikhareshu pārāvatamālāyamānāsu dharmapatākāsviva samunmishantīshu tapovanāgnihotradhūmalekhāsu, Kādambarī*, p. 52; *kapotakaṇṭhakarbure...timire, Harshacharita*, p. 145; *śapharodaradhūsare rajasi, Harshacharita* p. 21.

Varieties of brown are equally numerous. There is the *gorochanā* brown, yellowish brown, brown of the red palm fruit, of the camel's hair, and of the *godhūma* (wheat); *gorochanākapiladyutiḥ, Kādambarī*, p. 126; *haritālakāpilapakvaveṇuviṭaparachitavṛitibhiḥ, Kādambarī*, p. 393; *sandhyānubandhatāmre pariṇatatālaphalatvaktvishi kālameghamedure; Harshacharita*, p. 15; *dhūsarīchakruḥ kramelakakachakapilāḥ pāmsuvṛishṭayaḥ, Harshacharita*, p. 162; *godhūmadhāmabhis sthalīprishṭhāir adhishṭhitaḥ, Harshacharita*, p. 94.

Black is of various degrees and grades. There is the light black colour of the buffalo, the darker shade on the face of the *golāṅgūla* monkey, and the pitch-dark night resembling the wing of the bird *chāsha*: *jaranmahishamashīmalīmasi tamasi, Harshacharita*, p. 81;

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golāṅgūlakapolakālakāyalomni nīlasindhuvāravarṇe vājini, *Harshacharita*, p. 23; *chāshapakshatvishi tamasyudite*, *Harshacharita*, p. 16.

After all these stages of work, the *unmīlana*, 'opening of the eyes' of the figure is described as the final act. This is the actual practice to this day by the traditional *śilpins*, as the final touch to a figure. Though the term '*unmīlana*' is used a number of times in literary works, it is probably clearest in the *Haravijaya* of Ratnākara: *yasyābhiyātibhavaneshvasamāpta chitrasambhārabhittipurushā malinībhavantaḥ, unmīlanāvasaraśūnyadṛiśas samiddhām dadhyur divāniśam iva śriyam avyavasthām* 'in the mansions of his enemies, the figures painted on the walls, being left dust-ridden in half-finished stage, and therefore with eyes not painted yet (no life being infused into them by the indication of the pupils, etc.), took Lakshmī (prosperity) to be ephemeral just l ike the night and day'.

It may be wondered how such an important process of the painter like *unmīlana* has had no mention in the most important text on painting, the *Chitrasūtra*. Though apparently it may appear so, the importance of *unmīlana* is clearly given in the lines *sajīva iva dṛiśyate, saśvāsa iva yachchitram tachchitram śubhalakshaṇam*, *Vishṇudharmottara*, 3, 43, 21-22. 'that is an auspicious painting in which the figures appear to be alive and almost breathe and move'. This is exactly what is achieved by *unmīlana* and the *Chitrasūtra* does anyway give it. Thus the 'opening of the eyes', the last step in infusing life into a painting, *kandera derachina* in Nannechoḍa's passage, giving an insight into the painter's technique, is more than emphasised in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the standard ancient text on painting.

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CHAPTER FOUR

CLASSIFICATION OF PAINTINGS

There is a definite nomenclature for distinguishing pictures in various stages of completion, as also a bunch of words articulate in indicating a variety of completed paintings, each with distinguishing characteristics that single it out from the rest. Thus there are sketches, drawings, etchings, studies, portraits, in addition to special varieties like still life, seascape, landscape, cloudscape and so on. There is again a difference drawn between realistic treatment of a subject and a decorative mode. There is also a contrast made between one drawing and another by styling the one a finished work and the other sketchy. There are again cartoons and final paintings from cartoons like the ones of Leonardo and Raphael. In the case of the word cartoon, it should be noted that the original connotation of the word, signifying a preliminary sketch before carrying it on to the wall for a mural painting, has undergone a change in its meaning, and now it connotes a humorous sketch to ridicule society or individuals highlighting in the caricature some glaring trait in a person.

Like these distinctions in pictures in Western art, there have been varieties distinguished in Indian terminology for pictures. The terms *varṇaka* and *hastalekha* for a preliminary sketch, *viddhachitra* for a portrait, *bhāvachitra* for a highly emotional scene, *bhittichitra* for a mural, *chitrapaṭa* for a picture roll on canvas, *chitraphalaka* for a painting on a board, *unmīlitachitra* for a finished painting, *chitrābhāsa* a painting that resembles sculpture in the round by the treatment of *vartanā* or portrayal of depths by shading, are a few at random chosen to illustrate the point.

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The *Vishṇudharmottara* divides pictures into four varieties, *satya*, *vaiṇika*, *nāgara* and *miśra* and explains them by giving their definition. Dr. Stella Kramrisch, who was the first to translate this important text, has explained *satya* as realistic, in an oblong frame, *vaiṇika* as lyrical, in a square frame, *nāgara* as of the citizen, genre picture in round frame, and *miśra* as mixed. Dr. Coomaraswamy has also repeated the oblong, square and round frames as by Dr. Kramrisch. Dr. Moti Chandra accepts the square frame for *vaiṇika* and equates it with the decorative motifs in square and rectangular panels in Ajaṇṭā and Bāgh paintings.

Mounting and framing paintings was never in vogue in India. The paintings on canvas were rolled up and preserved in special long silken bags prepared as containers to keep them. The vernacular word denoting a picture *paṭam* (Tamil) and *paṭamu* (Telugu), suggests the usual material for a painting. The possible meaning of the words *chaturasra* and *vartula* is symmetrical and well rounded respectively. This quality applies to the figures in the pictures and not to the pictures themselves as a whole—the canvas. The other epithets like *dīrghāṅga*, *sapramāṇa* etc. are only meant for the figure element in the picture and not for the canvas. *Chaturasra* need not, therefore, be taken to mean differently. The quality of *chaturasraśobhā* has been often emphasised in Sanskrit literature, as for instance in the verse of Kālidāsa *unmīlitam tūlikayeva chitram sūryāmśubhir bhinnam ivāravindam, babhūva tasyās chaturasraśobhi vapur vibhaktam nava-yauvanena*, *Kumārasambhava*, 1, 32, where symmetry of form is stressed. The quality of *vartula*, coming after *dṛiḍhopachitasarvāṅgam*, which qualifies obviously the figure, cannot go to the canvas; and its meaning would naturally be 'well rounded form'. Stress on the quality of roundness of limbs for harmony of form is a special feature in Indian literature as in art. There are passages as examples of this. The line *samasuvṛittatuṅganāsikayā*, *Kādambarī* p. 193 of Bāṇa, the verse *vṛittānupūrve cha na chātidīrghe jaṅghe śubhe sṛishṭavatas tadīye, śeshāṅganirmāṇavidhau vidhātur lāvaṇya utpādya ivāsa yatnaḥ*, *Kumārasambhava* 1, 35 of Kālidāsa, and the verse of Vālmīki *sa dadarśa tatas tasyā vṛittāvūrū susamhatau, stanau cha pīnau sahitau sujātau chāru chānanam*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 4, 66, 13-14 describing the *vṛittoru* and *vṛitta-stana* of Añjanā, the beautiful mother of Hanumān, are but a few indications of this usage.

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Dr. Coomaraswamy has taken *satya* as pure or sacred and calls it *sāttvika*. As pointed out by Dr. Raghavan such an interpretation is not possible. It is true to life as Dr. Kramrisch has it, but there is no oblong frame envisaged. The clear description in the text *yatkiñchillokasadriśam chitram tat satyam uchyate* unequivocally defines a *satya chitra* as faithful in portraying some object of the world that it intends to represent. It is further explained as depicting the limbs somewhat elongate and not exactly as in true proportions, though following proportions in all other respects, rather delicate and with the right background: *yatkiñchillokasadṛiśam chitram tat satyam uchayate, dīrghāṅgam sapramāṇam cha sukumāram subhūmikam, Vishṇudharmottara*, 3, 41, 2. This is a very beautiful description of the Indian aesthetic vision of 'true to nature'. It is not exactly photographic fidelity that is sought in this picture. Rather, as in Burne-Jones' pictures, figures are slightly elongated, to give a greater charm and dignity to the figures, though the general proportions are never lost sight of. Similarly delicacy is brought in by making the figures sway or rest in a stance of great charm almost floating than striding or walking. Even the very touch and disposition of the limbs, closely following *karaṇas* and *hastas* in *nāṭya*, suggest delicacy. At Khajuraho many of the best and delicately wrought figures, though very pleasing and true to life, are slightly elongate below the waist (Fig. 58). At Ajaṇṭā most feminine figures clearly display this trait as well as great delicacy.

Satya of the *Vishṇudharmottara* applies to the entire group and composition in the picture, while *viddha* mentioned by Someśvara in his *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* is a portrait of a chosen individual subject of study. The *aviddha* that is contrasted here is a sketch without much care for accuracy in depiction. Mālavikā in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the princess in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* are accurately portrayed and answer the description 'like the reflection in a mirror' *sādṛiśyam likhyate yat tu darpaṇe pratibimbavat, tat chitram viddham ityāhur viśvakarmādayo budhāḥ, ākasmike likhāmīti yadā tūddiśya likhyate ākāramātrasampatve tad aviddham iti smṛitam, Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*. The *Śilparatna* follows the definition of *viddhachitra* of the *Abhilashitārthachintāmani* and gives the line: *sādṛiśyam likhyate yattu darpaṇe pratibimbavat* (46, 145-146), though the second line, somewhat inacu-

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rate, reading *tat chitram iti vikhyātam nālam ākāramātrakam*, should read *tad viddham iti vikhyātam*. The last quarter is to be explained *na alam akāramātrakam*, meaning 'it is not enough if only a rough idea of the form is given'. The use of the word *viddha* as a distinct type signifying an accurate portrait study from life occurs often in literature: *darśaya nisargasundarākṛitīnām avanigocharanarendradārakāṇām yathāsvam aṅkitāni nāmabhir yathāvasthitāni viddhārūpāṇi*, *Tilakamañjarī* p. 138; *dvīpāntararājakanyakābhir anudivasam apahāryamaṇachitraphalakāropitaviddharūpaḥ*, *Tīlakamañjarī*, p. 133.

Vaiṇika has been interpreted by Dr. Kramrisch as rich in postures, maintaining strict proportions, placed in an exactly square field, not phlegmatic, not very long and well finished. Dr. Coomaraswamy also takes it to be lyrical and square-framed. Dr. Moti Chandra takes it to be of right measurement, provided with suitable background, possibly purely decorative motifs in square and rectangular panels appearing in Ajaṇṭā and Bāgh paintings. Elongation and delicate treatment, that he as well attributes to this variety, are characteristics of *satya* and not *vaiṇika*. *Vaiñka*, however, as defined, is symmetrical (*chaturasra*), complete in its form, with no elongation of any limbs, nor exaggeration of form, in true proportions (Fig. 59) and rich in stances: *chaturasram susampūrṇam na dīrgham nolbaṇākṛiti pramāṇasthānalambhāḍhyam vaiṇikam tannigadyate*, *Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 41, 3. The reason for the *vīṇā* being brought in here is not quite clear. May be it is to suggest that this is the best variety like the *vīṇā* which is a rare gem though not from the milky ocean, *vīṇā hi nāmāsamudrotthitam ratnam*, *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, 3. It is thus symmetrical, free from any exaggerations, in true proportions, complete in form, and pleasing in its arrangement of postures. It is as pleasing as the melody of the *vīṇā* and close to lyrical composition in poetry.

Nāgara is explained by Dr. Kramrisch as 'of the city', round, with firm and well-developed limbs, and with scanty garlands and ornaments. Dr. Coomaraswamy considers it urban and secular as opposed to *satya* or sacred. Dr. Moti Chandra considers it the classical style, the firm body colour-modelled with preference to curves, excess of every kind avoided, with limited jewellery and floral ornaments. *Nāgara* is a sophisticated and restrained style of execution of pictures where

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all the limbs well rounded, are firmly and powerfully set, though not too exaggerated, and with great restraint in jewellery and garlands as decoration (Fig. 60): *dṛiḍhopachitasarvāṅgam vartulam na ghanolbaṇam chitram tannāgaram jñeyam svalpamālyavibhūshaṇam, Vishṇudharmottara*, 3, 41, 4.

Miśra is a mixture of the characteristics of the three styles described above.

Dr. Priyabala Shah has given an entirely different interpretation of the terms *nāgara* and *vaiṇika*. She feels, on the analogy of the divisions of style in architecture as *nāgara*, *drāviḍa* and *vesara*, that these have also a geographical basis in representing styles from particular regions. She explains *nāgara* as a northern variety with special reference to Mathurā as the greatest art centre in the north. Similarly she derives *vaiṇika* from *veṇā* after the river Veṇā in Dakshiṇāpatha, the river Krishṇaveṇā, and derives the word *veṇāyām bhavaḥ vaiṇikaḥ*. This explanation makes *nāgara*, the northern style and *vaiṇika* the southern mode. The words *chaturasra* and *vṛitta* are explained in this context as square and circular. The classification of pictures by their square or circular form cannot stand to reason and the geographical explanation of the terms cannot be accepted. The definition in the text of the *Chitrasūtra* is clearly based on the characteristics of the figures composing the pictures, and it is not possible to read this geographical interpretation into it.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONVENTIONS IN PAINTING : PICTORIAL PARLANCE

Any act accomplished is with due regard to limitations that govern human effort either in the deed itself or in the means for action. Building a house in sand or chiselling a statue in snow is frustrated as greater adhesiveness in the material for the former and permanency in the case of the latter alone would suit the construction and carving. Convention is a process that arises by the realisation of limitations in the means and methods of execution in regard to the materials provided by nature. Conventions obtain in every sphere of activity and equally so in the art of painting and sculpture.

To understand the significance of convention in art it is well for us to look up Ruskin who argues it at length in the section on modern manufacture and design in his The Two Paths and also in his addenda to his lecture on Architecture and Painting. Speaking of conventionalism by cause of inefficiency of material he says 'if for instance we are required to represent a human figure with stone only we cannot represent its colour; we reduce its colour to whiteness. That is not elevating the human body, but degrading it; only it would be much greater degradation to give its colour falsely. Diminish beauty as much as you will, but do not misrepresent it. So again when we are sculpturing a face we can't carve its eyelashes. The face is none the better for wanting its eyelashes—it is injured by the want; but would be much more injured by a clumsy representation of them.

'Neither can we carve the hair. We must be content with all

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the conventionalism of vile solid knots and lumps of marble, instead of the golden cloud that encompasses the fair human face with its waving mystery. The lumps of marble are not an elevated representation of hair—they are a degraded one; yet better than any attempt to imitate hair with the incapable material.

'In all cases in which such imitation is attempted, instant degradation to a still lower level is the result. For the effort to imitate shows that the workman has only a base and poor conception of the beauty of the reality—else he would know his task to be hopeless and give it up at once; so that all endeavours to avoid conventionalism where the material demands it result from insensibility to truth and are among the worst forms of vulgarity. Hence, in the greatest Greek statues, the hair is very slightly indicated, not because the sculptor disdained hair, but because he knew what it was too well to touch it insolantly. I do not doubt but that the Greek painters drew exactly as Titian does. Modern attempts to produce finished pictures on glass result from the same base vulgarism. No man who knows what painting means can endure a painted glass window which emulates painter's work. But he rejoices in a glowing mosaic of broken colour: for that is what the glass has the special gift and right of producing'. The Two Paths—Modern manufacture and design.

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But the above quotation from Ruskin has a bearing only on the limitations imposed on work by the material used for the purpose. There is, just like the impossibility of sculpting of hair beyond the indication of it and a total inability to represent eyelashes and colour in sculpture, the impossibility of representation of volume—the third dimension—in painting; and thus here come in such conventions as light and shade, perspective and foreshortening. All these have reference to the manner of execution as suited to the material on which the workman operates. And we have other conventions pertaining to the content or the idea of the representation, the subject or the theme as it is known. The conventions regarding the representation of the themes chosen for pictures are in themselves a very interesting and imaginative study. In such cases, conventions rise to such eminence and sublimity that they

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assume a suggestive power that conveys to the mind of the spectator ideas more beautiful in the suggestive sense than any however clearly specifically narrated. The most detailed delineation in a picture, where nothing is left to suggestion and where finish reaches a point of vulgarity, is certainly inferior to a suggestive sketch full of ideas and thought-provoking. Abhinavagupta speaks of pictures with somewhat of a disdain as on par with *chitrakāvya*—producing mere wonder and nothing more. But his reference is obviously to pictures devoid of suggestive value. Convention is that particular suggestion that softens and elevates a picture and gets recognised and understood by its connotation of a certain meaning by a large number of *sahṛidaya* spectators. Just as in *Alaṁkāraśāstra* there is the example given of *vyaktāvyaktakāminīkuchakalaśa* as beautiful and suggestive to explain an illustration of *vyaṁgyakāvya*, suggestive poetry, there is the *vyaktāvyakta* suggestive element in a picture as well, realised and depicted through appropriate conventions that invigorate art.

There are innumerable conventions in Sanskrit literature to denote several situations and emotions. *Hastas*, *mudras*, *sthānas* and *karaṇas* in *nāṭya* denote these in a different mode of expression peculiar to the gesture vocabulary of this visual art. As the method of suggestion in the *Chitrasūtra* is closely allied to that of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, both the arts are to be studied together. The text of the *Vishṇudharmottara* clearly explains the proximity of both these arts. As in dance, so in painting, there is close imitation of life in the three worlds. All the glances, emotions, movement of limbs, both major and minor, the disposition of *hastas* already explained in the exposition of *nāṭya* (dance) are to be understood in *chitra* (art) also, as, indeed, *nṛitta* is also a major form of *chitra* (art); *yathā nṛitte tathā chitre trailokyānukṛitis smṛitā, dṛishṭayas cha tathā bhāvā aṁgopāṁgāni sarvaśaḥ, karās cha ye matā nṛitte pūrvoktā nṛipasattama, to eva chitre vijñeyā nṛittam chitram param matam, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 35, 5-6.

Now to take a few examples. In the representation of a *virahiṇī*, separated sweetheart, the accepted convention is to paint her with undressed rolled hair (*ekaveṇī*), soiled garment (*malinavastra*), pale cheeks *pāṇḍukapola*) and so forth, suggesting her state of sorrow where she completely neglects her physical comforts and personal

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charm. The most effective description of this is in that of Sītā in the Aśoka grove. There are many others in other *kāvyas*. We may just quote Kālidāsa as an example. 'Kuśa, waking at midnight, with lights unflickering and all asleep in his bedchamber, saw a damsel, never sighted earlier, in attire bespeaking her separated from her husband': *athārdharātre stimitapradīpe śayyāgṛihe suptajane prabuddhaḥ kuśah pravāsasthakalatraveshām adṛishṭapūrvām vanitām apaśyat, Raghuvamśa* 16, 4. In this we are told that the dress of women separated from their husbands is distinct and distinguishable. Another example is 'Constantly inviting the thousand-eyed Indra to his frequent sacrifices, in the performance of which he was engaged all the time, he rendered the unkempt locks dangling on the wan cheeks of Śachī devoid of floral ornamentation': *kriyāprabandhād ayam adhvarāṇām ajasram āhūtasahasranetraḥ, śachyās chiram pāṇḍukapolalambān mandāraśūnyān alakāmśchakāra, Raghuvamśa* 6, 23. This is greater elaboration of the attire of a separated wife. Elaborate explanation of this is found in another verse 'Oh laden cloud! you should arrange the expedient to make this river give up her attenuation indicative of your great good fortune in that she loves you so well that her charm is diminished in her separated state from you, her thin stream appearing a long unkempt braid and her appearance wan by the pale dry leaves of the trees on the bank scattered on her surface: *veṇībhūtapratanusalilā sātvatītasya sindhuḥ pāṇḍuchchhāyā taṭaruhatarubhramśibhir jīrṇaparṇaiḥ, saubhāgyam te subhaga virahāvasthayā darśayantī kārśyam yena tyajati vidhinā sa tvayaivopapādyaḥ, Meghadūta*, 1, 29.

The expectant separated wife eagarly welcoming the caw of a crow that is believed to indicate the speedy arrival of her husband from his far off travels is a favourite theme in sculpture and painting (Fig. 61).

An umarried girl is easily suggested by a particular arrangement of dress. This is given in a passage from the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara.

Vidūshaka - (to himself) who is this girl in the queen's retinue? (thinks awhile) so it is? The queen, in her curiosity, dresses up in

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feminine apparel her maternal uncle's son Mṛigāṅkavarman who arrived recently. Seeing her, but unaware of the reality, the painters have, I think, depicted her in the mural. So I will not disclose this. Let my dear friend wonder who it is. (aloud) Let me explain. From her costume she looks an unmarried girl.

King — It is as my friend says. The dress itself suggests her an unmarried girl as she is painted in a blue skirt. After the marriage women resort to the charming mode of wear with complicated tucking of fringes.

vidūshakaḥ—(svagatam) kā punar eshā devīparivāre? (vichintya) bhavatu, kautūhalena devī abhinavāgatam nijamātulajātakam mṛigāṅkavarmāṇam vāram vāram virachitamahilāvesham kārayati. tām cha dṛishtvā ajñātaparamārthais chitrakarais saiva chitre ālikhiteti tarkayāmi, tanna visphoṭayishye. bho kumārikā khalu etasyā nepathyam lakshyate.

rājā—yathāha priyavayasyaḥ.

kanyeti sūchayati veshaviśesha eva yannīlacholakavatī likhitātra chitre, pāṇigrahāt prabhṛiti tu pramadājanasya nīvīviśeshasubhagaḥ paridhānamārgaḥ, Viddhasālabhañjikā, 1.

Sparse ornamentation and plain apparel suggest a simple life in the forest, and the famous example of this is that of Śakuntalā and her companions Priyaṁvadā and Anasūyā.

King—Friend! Moreover I had forgotten to appropriately dress up Śakuntalā in the picture.

Vidūshaka—How is that ?

Sānumatī—That which is appropriate for life in the forest and charming youth.

King—Oh! my friend! I have not applied to the ear the śirīsha flower with its tendrils drooping on the cheek, nor have I arranged the thin lotus stalk soft like the autumnal moon's rays between the breasts.

rājā—vayasya ! vayasya ! anyachcha śakuntalāyāḥ prasādhanam abhipretam atra vismṛitam asmābhiḥ.

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vidūshakaḥ—kimiva?

sānumatī—vanavāsasya saukumāryasya cha yat sadṛiśam bhavishyati.

rājā—kṛitam na karṇārpitabandhanam sakhe śirīsham āgaṇḍavilambikesaram, na vā śarachchandramarīchikomalam mṛiṇālasūtram rachitam stanāntare.

Abhijñānaśākuntalam 6

Thus it is clear that Śakuntalā and other maidens in the wood deck themselves with flowers. That they wear no gold ornaments and that they are unaccustomed to it is given in the line: *aye! anupayuktabhūshaṇo'yam janas chitrakarmaparichayenāṅgeshu ta ābharaṇaviniyogam karoti;* oh these maidens apply the jewels to your various limbs by their acquaintance with pictures depicting them in their respective spots, even though really they are unacquainted with the real use of ornaments. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* 6.

Profuse ornamentation and an eager flutter in the case of a damsel for meeting her lord would suggest her to be a *vāsakasajjikā* (Fig. 62). 'Looking at her own seductive charm in her array of jewels reflected in the mirror, and the lovely interior of her house lit in golden light, and joyous in the thought that she would shortly enjoy after so long the caresses of her lord, the damsel with the fleeting eyes of the timid fawn turned her glances towards the door, eager to see if her lord had arrived': *dṛishṭvā darpaṇamaṇḍale nijavapurbhūshām manohāriṇīm dīptārchiḥkapiśam cha mohanagṛiham trasyatkuraṅgīdṛiśā, evam nau suratam bhavishyati chirād adyeti sānandayā kāmam kāntadidṛikshayā cha lalitā dvāre'rpitā dṛishṭayaḥ, Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra,* 6, 94.

These are a few examples from literature in general. There is a separate section in the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇudharmottara* titled *rūpanirmāṇa* dealing elaborately with conventions. It is an interesting and pleasant study of special features and characteristics suggestive of definite situations.

The *Vishṇudharmottara* lays great stress on the correct proportions to be adopted for individual figures, male and female,

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according to definite injunctions given in the text, as also the look of the eye, specially in the case of celestials. Variation from the correct gaze in any direction and its defect in any detail would entail a variety of calamities enumerated with reference to upward, downward, lateral and other possible look in different directions. The main classifications in majesty of personality by the varying height prescribed for each of the five classes are *haṁsa*, *bhadra*, *mālavya*, *ruchaka* and *śaśaka*. The first is one hundred and eight *aṅgulas* in accordance with the measurement of his own *aṅgula*. The rest, respectively, are similarly one hundred and four, one hundred, and ninety *aṅgulas*. The woman of each of these varieties reaches

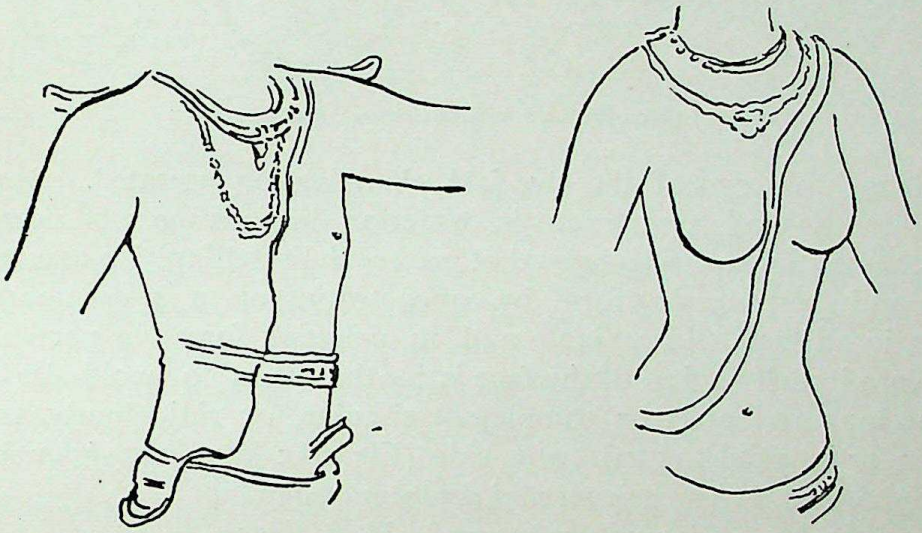

Fig. 63. Masculine and feminine waist line

the shoulder of the male through her height. Her waist is thinner than that of the male by two *aṅgulas* and the hip larger by four *aṅgulas*, the breasts being very attractive and of the measure of the chest (Fig. 63). Fair like the moon, honeyed in the eyes, mighty with arms like the snake king Vāsuki, of lovely gait like a swan, pleasing and attenuated in the waist and of sweet countenance is the *haṁsa*. Of lotus hue, elephant gait, great in wisdom, with ample rounded arms and bushy cheeks is *bhadra*. Of light dark green-pulse complexion, attenuated waist, beaming sheen, long arms nearly reaching the knee, with powerful shoulders and prominent nose is the *mālavya*. Fair like the autumnal blossoms, conch-necked, great in intelligence

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and truthful in speech, a true connoisseur of art and poetry, and powerful in strength is the *ruchaka*. Reddish dark in complexion, slightly inclined to be grey, with rounded cheeks and honey-red eyes, clever in his wit is the *śaśaka*. These characteristics guide the portrayal of almost all the different categories of celestials, terrestrials and others chosen for depiction. This explains why in the *rūpanirmāṇa* chapter the *pramāṇa* of every category of figure depicted is

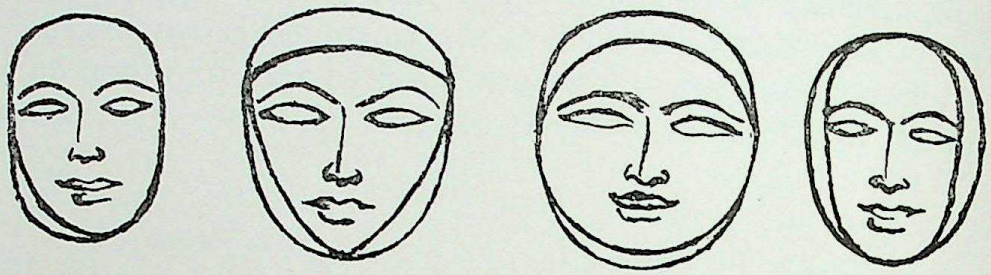

Fig. 64. Face delineation: *vakra, trikoṇa, maṇḍala, dīrgha*

explained in terms of the five-fold classification narrated. But the consideration of conventions in depiction depends more on certain other essential characteristics that are specially telling. To assure the best and most pleasing form, by concentrating on a sweet countenance in all figures in general, and in celestial forms in particular, the care in delineation of the face is in the stress to avoid drawing it too long and lanky or completely circular, or ridiculously triangular, or crooked towards any side (Fig. 64): *dīrghamaṇḍalavakrāṇi trikoṇādīni yāni cha, varjyāni tāni devānām prajānām śīvam ichchhatā, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 38, 5. Kings, like the *devas*, are to be of the highest *pramāṇa*, and have *mahāpurushalakhaṇas*. If they are emperors (*chakravartins*) they have to be given *jālāṅguli* or webbed fingers (Fig. 65), *ūrṇā* or an auspicious curl of hair between the eyebrows (Fig. 66). We may recall here the reference to the *jālāṅguli* of the child Bharata in the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam, katham chakravartilakshaṇam anena dhāryate, tathā hi, pralobhyavastupraṇayaprasārito vibhāti jālagrathitāṅguliḥ karaḥ*, 7, 16; and the *mahāpurushalakshaṇas* like *ūrṇā, ushṇīsha* and marks on the soles of the feet of Jīmūtavāhana in the *Nāgānanda, ushṇīshas sphuṭa*

Fig. 65. *jālāṅguli* webbed fingers, *a mahāpurushalakshaṇa*

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esha mūrdhani vibhātyūrṇeyam antar bhruvośchakshus tāmarasānukāri hariṇā vakshasthalam spardhate, chakrāṅkam cha yāthā padadvayam idam manye tathā ko'pyayam no vidyādharachakravartipadavīm aprāpya viśrāmyati, 1, 17, indicating him as the future emperor of the Vidyādharas. In this strain the *pramāṇa* of *bhadra* is laid down for categories of figures like Rishis, Gandharvas, Daityas, Dānavas, ministers, astrologers, priests, Brāhmaṇas in general as a class and so forth. But more important is the description individually given of each class, like Rishis, who are to be depicted weak and emaciated but full of effulgence, wearing heavy and bundled-up locks of hair and covered with dark antelope skin as upper garment on the shoulder: *ṛishayas tatra kartavyā jaṭājūṭopaśobhitāḥ, kṛishṇājinottarāsaṅgā durbalās tejasā yutāḥ*, 3, 42, 3-4. A look at the sages in penance near a shrine in the large panel from Mahābalipuram clearly illustrates this (Fig. 67). The sage wears matted locks, is so emaciated as to almost reveal his ribs and collar bone, is weak and bent with age and austerities, but inspires respect and reverence by his lustrous personality. Brāhmaṇas in general are to be shown (Fig. 68) clad in white apparel, wearing *śikhā* tuft, and full of effulgence born of Vedic learning (*brahmavarchas*): *kartavyās te mahārāja śikhābhir upaśobhitāḥ brahmavarchasvino viprās śuklāmbaradharās tathā*, 3, 42, 5. Among Brāhmaṇas, ministers, astrologers and royal priests are to be shown moderately bejewelled and wearing turbans: *mantriṇas cha mahārāja sāmvatsarapurohitau, sarvālaṅkārasamyuktā naivolbaṇavibhūshaṇāḥ*, 3, 42, 6. Here the ordinary Brāhmaṇas are represented in figures like that of Jūjuka in the *Vessantara Jātaka* represented in Ajaṇṭā, wearing a white lower garment, with the tuft (*śikhā*) on his head and devoid of any ornaments (Fig. 42). Another good example is Sudāma in his hut or received by Kṛishṇa in the usual Kāngrā paintings depicting the theme (Fig. 136) or in the same theme from the mural in the Vaḍakkunātha temple at Trichur (fig. 98 of my *South Indian Paintings*). This illustrates the proverbial poverty and contentment of the Vedic Brāhmaṇa in general. On the other hand the minister or royal priest or the court astrologer basking in royal favour has some jewellery on his person to suggest his comparative opulence, though even this

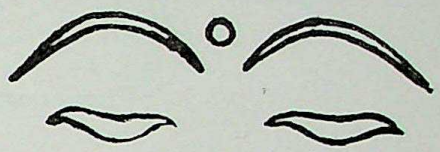

Fig. 66 *Urnā*, curl between eyebrows, a *mahāpururushalakshaṇa*.

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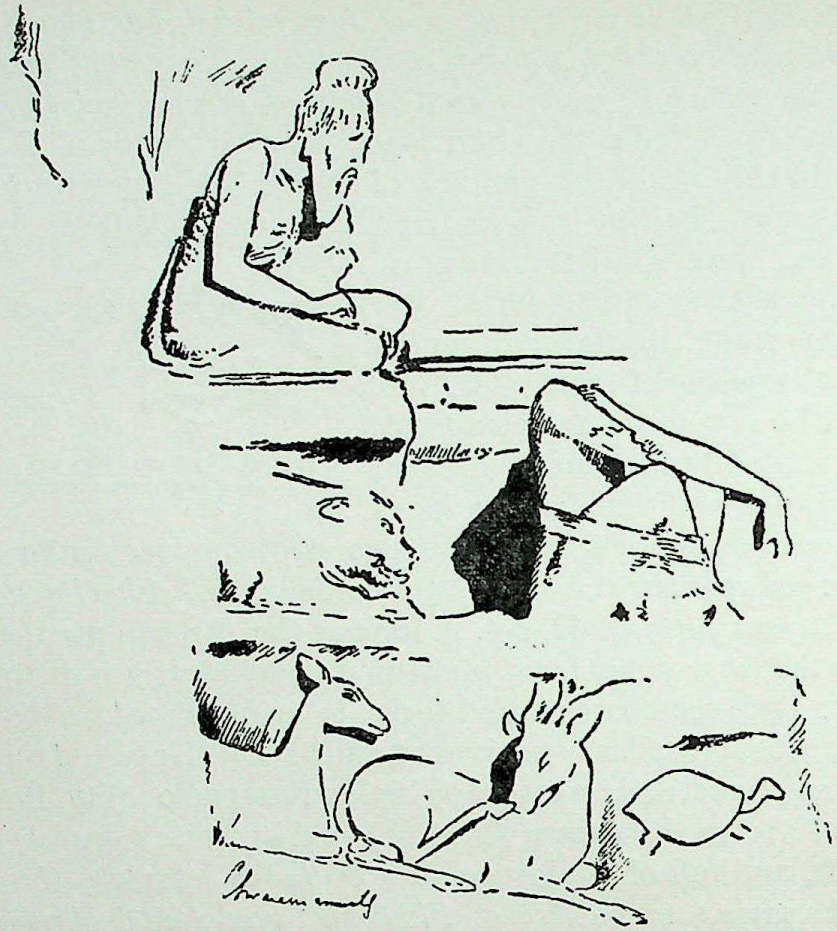

Fig. 67. Ṛishi emaciated by *tapasyā*, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahābalipuram.

adornment is restricted to a minimum in accordance with the simple life of a Brāhmaṇa. The restriction *naivolbaṇavibhūshaṇāḥ* is thus significant. In spite of their high office, the ministers and royal priests cannot wear a crown in any form. But a turban appropriate for each one is prescribed. A look at the sculptures from Bhārhut, Amarāvatī, Sāñchī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa or Barabudur would show the varying type of this headdress indicative of profession and status. Even *ṛitviks* officiating in a sacrifice have *ushṇīshas*. Crowns are provided for all the godlings like Devatas, Gandharvas and Vidyādharas as also for Daityas, Dānavas, Rākshasas, Kinnaras, Nāgas and so forth. Daityas and Dānavas are specially characterised by knit brows, globular eyes, frightful faces and gaudy attire to suggest their overbearing spirit and ire. Vidyādharas are to be

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represented in pairs (Fig. 1), along with their consorts, specially decked in sweetsmelling garlands and rich ornaments, with a short sword tucked in the belt and fast coursing through the sky or fluttering on the earth: *daityās cha dānavās chaiva kartavyā bhrukuṭīmukhāḥ, vartulākshās tathā kāryā bhīmavaktrās tathaiva cha, teshām abhyuddhato veshaḥ kartavyaḥ pṛithivīpate, bhadrapramāṇāḥ kartavyā tathā vidyādharā nṛipa, sapatnīkās cha te kāryā gagane vāthavā bhuvi, mālavyaparimāṇena kinnaroragarākshasāḥ, ruchakasya pramāṇena yakshāḥ kāryā narādhipa*, 3, 42, 7-11. While Daityas, Dānavas and Vidyādharas are of *bhadra* proportions, Kinnaras, Nāgas and Rākshasas are of *mālavya*, and Yakshas of *ruchaka* dimensions. There is no special *pramāṇa* or standard measurement for Piśāchas, and Pramathagaṇas accompanying Śiva and the Gaṇas of other major deities like Vishṇu have no definite prescribed proportions. Dwarfs, hunchbacks and other such members of a royal retinue may be of varying height and no definite proportions can be attributed to them. Kinnaras are of two varieties, those with human face and equine body (Fig. 69) and others with equine face and human body (Fig. 70). Horse-faced Kinnaras are to be decked in ornaments of every kind, carry musical instruments and look bright and lustrous. The female class of every variety should be according to the respective proportions: *piśāchā vāmanāḥ kubjāḥ pramathās cha mahībhuja, mānāniyamataḥ kāryā rūpāniyamatas tathā, svānurūpapramāṇās cha sarveshām yoshitas smṛitāḥ, kinnarā dvividhāḥ proktā nṛivaktrā hayavigrahāḥ, nṛidehās chāśvavaktrās cha tathānye parikīrtitāḥ, aśvavaktrās tu kartavyāḥ sarvālaṅkāradhāriṇaḥ, gītavādyasamāyuktā dyutimantas tathaiva cha*, 3, 42, 12-15. Rākshasas are to be depicted with hair straightened and jutting up on their head, fearful eyes and driving terror in the minds of the spectator. Nāgas are to be of pleasant countenance and bejewelled like Devas but with the addition of snake hoods on their head (Fig. 71). The Gaṇas are to have the faces of different animals or birds, wear diverse attire, carry a variety of weapons, and appear in various acts of sport and movement (Fig. 72): *utkaṭachā rākshasāḥ kāryā vikṛitākshā vibhīshaṇāḥ, devākārās cha kartavyā nāgāḥ phaṇavirājitāḥ, sālaṅkārās smṛitās sarve yakshās te'bhihitā mayā, nānāsatvamukhāḥ kāryā devatānām tathā gaṇāḥ, nānāveśā mahārāja nānāyudhadharās tathā, nānākrīḍāprasaktās cha nānākarmakarās tathā*, 3, 42, 15-19. Vaishṇavagaṇas, however, unlike Śivagaṇas that appear

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in diverse forms, are to be uniform in appearance, though the four groups are to have the attributes of Vāsudeva, Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aṇiruddha, and are in hue to be lily-blue, moon-white, emerald-green and crimson-red, respectively: *vāsudevasamāḥ kāryā vāsudevagaṇās śubhāḥ, saṅkarshaṇena sadṛiśās tadgaṇās cha tathā smṛitāḥ, pradyumnenāṇiruddhena tadgaṇās sadṛiśās tathā, tatprabhāvās smṛitās sarve tadāyudhadharās tathā, nīlotpaladalaśyāmās chandraśubhrās tathaiva cha, tathā marakatākārā sindūrasadṛiśaprabhāḥ*, 3, 42, 20-23.

While women from respectable families are to be of *mālavya* standard, bejewelled, but with restraint in dress and ornamentation, shy and retiring, courtesans are to be of a lower standard, *ruchaka*, but showy in their dress and ornaments befitting erotic taste: *ruchakasya tu mānena veśyāḥ kāryās tathā striyaḥ, veśānām uddhatam veśam kāryam śṛiṅgārasammatam, mālavyamānataḥ kāryā lajjāvatyaḥ kulastriyaḥ, nātyunnatena veśena sālaṅkārās tathaiva cha*, 3, 42, 23-25. The dress and opulence of the courtesan is seen in sculptures like the one of Kushāṇa date from Mathurā (Fig. 73) illustrating the first act of the *Mṛichchhakaṭikā* depicting Vasantasenā fleeing from Śakāra and Viṭa, her attendant holding an umbrella for her, suggestive of her wealth and status. On the back of this panel is shown the drunken state of the courtesan in her *pramadavana*, her eroticism, and the unending desire of even the old *kuṭṭanī* applying pomade to her face to appear youthful and banish all idea of her age. We cannot but bring to our mind the incident from the *Pādatāḍitaka*, where the lone tooth of the *kuṭṭanī* falls into the mouth of the foolish youth, who kisses mistaking her for a youthful courtesan, and spits it out with a long drawn spasm of 'arr'. 'Three days ago poor Sthāṇumitra had a disgusting experience while kissing her. Ah! how unkind is one's passion! When he was pleased with the kiss, her uprooted tooth touched the root of his tongue and then he had to spit it out with a loathing sound: *asyā hi itastritīye' hani tapasvī sthāṇumitras chumbanātiprasaṅgāt tathā bībhatsam anubhūtavān, aho dhig akaruṇo rāgaḥ — chumbanaraktam so'syā daśanam chyutamūlam ātmano vadane jihvāmūlaspṛishṭam khāḍ iti kṛitvā nirashṭhīvat, Pādatāḍitaka* 33. Only a *vāsakasajjikā, nāyikā* and a respectable housewife, in her eagerness to impress her beauty and affection on her lord, appears dressed beyond the normal limit.

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While the wives of Daityas, Dānavas, Yakshas and Rākshasas are to be portrayed very beautiful, and attended on by maids in waiting, those of the Piśāchas are to be ugly and gruesome like their consorts: *daityadānavayakshāṇām rākshasānām tathaiva cha, rūpavatyas tathā kāryāḥ patnyo manujasattama, piśāchānām tu patnyo'pi kāryās tadrūpasamyutāḥ*, 3, 42, 25-27. *daityādiyoshitām kāryāḥ parichārastriyaḥ sadā*, 3, 42, 32. This is easily seen in actual depictions as for instance in the Tripurasaṁhāra scene where the fearful Rākashasas appear with knit brows, globular eyes shooting fire and muscular body swaying in action fighting Śiva, while their wives are shown tearful, beautiful and delicate, clinging to their consorts in a vain bid to persuade them to give up their mad fight with one at whose hands their doom is a certainty. This beautiful mural from the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tañjāvūr of 1000 A. D. (Fig. 74) is a never to be forgotten masterpiece of the early Choḷa painter. In the paintings of *abhisārikās*, particularly *kṛishṇābhisārikās* going to their place of tryst in the dark, with their path occasionally illuminated by flashes of lightning, there are female Piśāchas shown frightful like the males of their category (Fig 75). Also in early sculpture there are Piśāchikās shown in the early sixth century Western Chāḷukya carvings from the Mahākūṭeśvara shrine nearer the tank in the neighbourhood of Aihoḷe. The description is given by Bhavabhūti in his *Mālatīmādhava* in the scene of *mahāmāmsavikraya*. The sky resounding with the din of the colossal hideous ornaments clanging on the huge skulls and bones strung on veins and sinews, and her hideous body with the hanging breasts swaying with the drying up mire of blood drunk to an overflow on her ample chest, runs the ogress proud in her hauteur: *antraprotabṛihatkapālanalakakrūrakvaṇatkaṅkaṇaprāyapreṅkhitabhūribhūshaṇaravair āghoshayantyambaram pītachchharditaraktakardamaghanaprāgbhāraghorollasadvyālolastanabhārabhairavavapur darpoddhatam dhāvati*. When it is however a representation of the mothers of these categories, as for instance Diti, whose offspring is the whole brood of Daityas and Daiteyas, she should be fearful in appearance like the Daityas, though their wives are to be depicted charming in appearance: *mātaras svena rūpeṇa teshām kāryā narādhipa*, 3, 42, 26. That is why, while Rāvaṇa's queen Mandodarī, as her name itself suggests, was beautiful, the hags Śūrpaṇakhā and Tāḍakā, as their names suggest, were *karālā* and *nirṇatodarī*, and well could

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Kālidāsa say that her form was equal to her epithet, *rūpam śūrpaṇakhā nāmnas sadṛiśam pratyapadyata, Raghuvamśa*, 12, 38 and with her crooked nails and bamboo-like finger notches and fingers like curved goads Śūrpaṇakhā frightened them: *sā vakranakhadhāriṇyā veṇukarkaśaparvayā, aṅkuśākārayāṅgulyā tāvatarjayad ambare, Raghuvamśa*, 12, 41.

In the royal retinue, specially in the harem, there should be a variety of attendants and companions for the queens and princesses, hunchbacks, dwarfs, old women and beautiful youthful damsels as well, in addition to an aged chamberlain wearing a long tunic, after which apparel he is named *kañchukī : kubjā vāmanikā vṛiddhā tathā rūpavatī bhavet, rājastrīṇām parīvāre vṛiddhas syāt kañchukī punaḥ*, 3, 42, 28-29. In the harem scenes as from the palace of Sāmāvatī in Amarāvatī sculptures or from similar scenes from Ajaṇṭā and even in medieval sculptures we can see all these categories of attendants, hunchbacks, dwarfs (Fig. 76), beautiful damsels and old women as also the old chamberlain (Fig. 77). In many *nāyikā* scenes of the Pahārī and Rājasthānī schools the old woman with wrinkles and grey hair usually in a white apparel, is a frequent occurrence. She also answers the description of the widow clad in white, old and grey-haired: *vibhartṛikās tu kartavyās striyaḥ palitasamyutāḥ*, 3, 42, 27.

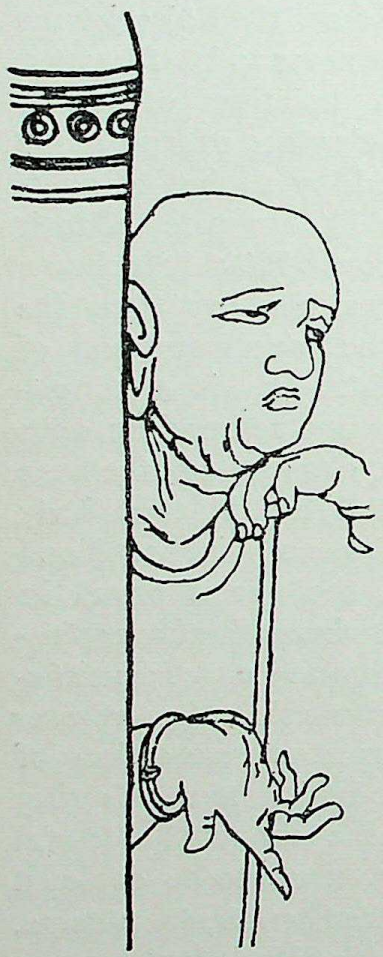

Fig. 77. *Kañchukī*, old chamberlain, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajaṇṭa

As kings are of *hamsapramāṇa* like the celestials, Brāhmaṇas of *bhadrapramāṇa*, Vaiśyas and the whole community of traders should be of *ruchakapramāṇa* and Śūdras of *saśakamāṇa;* and all of them are to be draped according to their position: *ruchakasya tu mānena vaiśyamānam vidhīyate, śaśakasya tu mānena śūdramānam tathaiva cha, yathājātyanurūpeṇa vesheṇa*

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manujeśvara, 3, 42, 29-30. It may be noted in this context that ruling kings alone, like the celestials, wear a *makuṭa* or crown. The other princes have their hair dressed up and avoid a crown (Fig. 78).

The chief of the commanders of the army should be overbearing, piercingly hawk-eyed, prominent in his nose, furrowed in his forehead, tall and majestic, ample in his shoulder build, thick-necked, broad-bosomed, ample in girth and large-headed. Usually all warriors are to be depicted with knit brows, rather loud in their apparel and looking sharp. Armed footsoldiers are to be in full panoply, sword in hand, nearer the Karṇāṭakas in their appearance and almost rushing up to be in action. Archers are to be lightly dressed, uncovered on their shanks but with feet protected by sandals and equipped with war-worthy arrows. Elephants and horses are to be portrayed according to the dictates of war. Mahouts and elephant-riders are to be swarthy like the tone of the green pulse, wear frizzled hair and appropriate jewellery (Fig. 79). Horse-riders are to be depicted in the northern mode of dress and ornamentation. Bards are to be in pompous dress, with their faces lifted up and with veins observed on their neck as they announce entry in the field of battle and loudly sing the praises of their warriors' skill in warfare. The trumpeters inviting warriors for the affray are to be tall, sepia-coloured, glance sideways, mace in hand and look somewhat like Dānavas. Pairs of combatants like wrestlers should not be depicted tawny-coloured or looking sideways, neither too gaudily attired nor looking peaceful. The usher is to hold the staff indicating his office and wear the sword hanging on his side attached to his belt: *mahāśirā mahorasko mahānāso mahāhanuḥ, pīnaskandhabhujagrīvaḥ parimāṇena chochchhritaḥ, tritaraṅgalalāṭas cha śyenadṛishṭir mahākaṭiḥ, dṛiptas chitravidā kāryas senāyāḥ patir ūrjitaḥ, yodhāḥ kāryā mahārāja prāyaśo bhrukuṭīmukhāḥ, kiñchid uddhataveśāścha kāryās choddhatadarśanāḥ, abhyudgatās cha kartavyā āyudhīyā padātayaḥ, khaḍgavarmadharāḥ kāryāḥ karṇāṭakavapurdharāḥ, varabāṇadharāḥ kāryā nagnajaṅghās cha dhanvinaḥ, nāddhyuddhatena veśena sopānatkās tathaiva te, yathoktalakshaṇāḥ kāryāḥ kuñjarās turagādayaḥ, hastyārohās tu kartavyā mudgaśyāmās tu varṇataḥ, keśais cha jūṭaṭasarais sālaṅkārās tathaiva te, udīchyaveśāḥ kartavyās turagāṇām tu sādinaḥ, uddhatena tu veśena kartavyā bandinas tathā sirādarśitakaṇṭhās cha tathaivonmukhadṛishṭayaḥ,*

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āhvānakās tu kartavyāḥ kapilāḥ kekarekshaṇāḥ, kiñchiddānavasaṅkāśāḥ prāmśavo daṇḍapāṇayaḥ, na kekarān na kapilān yuddhe dvandvān samālikhet, nātyuddhatena veśena na cha śāntena śasyate, pārśvabaddhena khaḍgena pratīhāras tu daṇḍavān, 3, 42, 31-41.

The majestic picture of the supreme commander of the forces is more than tellingly portrayed in Porus or Purushottama on his stately elephant attacked by Alexander in the silver medallion issued by the latter to commemorate this great event (Fig. 80). Alexander was, no doubt, so completely taken in by this stately appearance of his royal foe that he, in the commendable spirit of a true warrior, had him portrayed so. Naturally it is a telling example of India's lofty idea of the status of the highest warrior, his military glory and his final visit to Valhalla after glorious death on the battlefield. There are similarly several paintings of the Rājasthāni and Pahārī schools illustrating the battle-scenes from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* where Bhīshma, Droṇa, Karṇa, Arjuna, Bhīma, Abhimanyu, Indrajit, Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa and others are appropriately depicted. The matching of great soldiers, their dress and war-array, their bards and announcers in the battlefield etc., is all clearly portrayed in great detail in the Gupta terracotta from Ahichchhatrā, showing Yudhishṭhira fighting Jayadratha, now in the National Museum. Both at Ajaṇṭā and Bāgh, the elephants and horses, with their riders in dress and tone answering the description in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, are striking. The war scene from Amarāvatī, (Fig. 81) and similar scenes from Pallava history, portrayed pictorially in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñchīpuram, and similar royal processions in long frieze from the temples at Khajuraho, are examples to suitably illustrate this description of the theme in the text. The graphic literary description of the fourfold forces in action, the announcement and song of the bards and trumpeters, the din and heroic emotion, the equally matched warriors suggesting righteous warfare adhered to in ancient India, with its parallel in epigraphical text in the Kūram plates of Pallava Parameśvaravarman, are commentaries as it were on this description in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. The close adherence to this text in the matter of even minute details like the swarthy complexion and frizzly hair of the māhout on the bejewelled stately dark elephants brightened by their colourful

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trappings is certainly a noteworthy factor (Fig. 79). The details of dress of the footsoldiers with their shanks free and feet protected by sandals, even the tunic worn and the turbaned head, recalling the Karṇāṭaka style, is all illustrated in several battle scenes of the ninth, tenth, eleventh centuries, in Satī stones and other memorial stones from various museums, including the one in the Mṛigaṇayanā *mahal* in Gwalior. Kaṇṇappa, wearing sandals, tunic and crossbelt and turban, and equipped with his bow and quiver of arrows, represented by the early Choḷa sculptor both in stone and metal, is an excellent example of the early medieval foot soldier, specially the archer.

In the case of the traders a special characteristic mentioned is the turban on their head: *samveshṭiraśitaskās cha kartavyā vaṇijas tathā*, 3, 42, 42. This may be observed in the scene of the bazar street in the representation of the *Vessantara Jātaka* at Ajaṇṭā (Fig. 82). No one who remembers the merchants in their traditional dress in the iron mongers' street near Kandaswami temple in Madras till fifty years ago can forget their simple apparel of a lower and an upper garment and turban, precisely this very dress here prescribed.

Musicians and dancers, drummers and instrumentalists, are to be dressed rather flamboyantly for the prestige of their art and orchestra (Fig. 83). Thus originated the tradition that has survived through the centuries. The particularly important element of make up for the dancers, for which there is ample provision in the *āhārya* element of the fourfold classification of *abhinaya* in dance, can be easily recalled here.

Prominent citizens and village folk of eminence are to be shown elderly with signs of greying hair, in immaculate white apparel and bejewelled, full of a spirit of humility, affable and by nature of a loving disposition and sweetlooking.

Servants and those of the working class are to be depicted engrossed in their daily duties. Wrestlers are portrayed tall and well-built, thick-necked, large-headed and close-cropped, overbearing and massive: *āsannapalitāḥ kāryās subhūshaṇavibhūshaṇāh, paura-*

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jānapadaśreshṭhāḥ śubhravastravibhūshaṇāḥ, praśritapravaṇāḥ prahvās svabhāvapriyadarśanāḥ, svakarmopaskaravyagrāḥ kāryāḥ karmakarā janāḥ, prāmśavah pīnagātrās cha pīnagrīvāśirodharāḥ, udagrā nīchakeśās cha mallāḥ kāryā tathoddhatāḥ 3, 42, 43-46. This can be observed in the Vākāṭaka paintings from Ajaṇṭā in different compositions as there are urban and rural scenes depicted and these instructions are followed therein. At Borobudur there are again several panels illustrating both the life of Siddhārtha and the Bodhisattva in many *Jātakas* as also in the Prambanam panels illustrating the story of Rāma and Kṛishṇa. There are similarly several miniatures both Rājasthāni and Pahārī to illustrate this. Regarding the *mallas* the best examples are from the *Bhāgavata* series where Chāṇūra and Mushṭika engage Balarāma and Kṛishṇa. The duel between Bhima and Jarāsandha is another classical example, a fine Gupta representation of which is in the Lucknow Museum (Fig. 84). The same type is interestingly met with in the wrestlers' bout witnessed by Bābar in one of the miniatures illustrating *Bābar Nāmā* in the National Museum.

In a resume of instructions in general for the guidance of the artist for portraying such themes in general as one witnesses all around him in his daily norm of life, the first to be taken up are animals and birds and others of their ilk. Bulls, lions and other animals and birds are to be depicted in their natural surroundings and in close conformity to what is observed in nature. Though what may not be seen so easily has been explained at some length, what can be easily observed and studied should be so sketched and painted as to lay stress on their proper semblance to the original. In a picture the most essential factor is to bring out prominently the semblance of the portrait to the portrayed. The artist should study the difference in features, dress, ornamentation and complexion and accordingly depict people in their differing characteristics. Their country, inclination, position, action, even their seat, bedstead, vehicles, dress and apparel should be studied closely and carefully and depicted with meticulous care: *vṛishāḥ kasariṇas chaiva yās chānyās satvajātayaḥ, yathā bhūminiveśās te lokam dṛishṭvā narādhipa, etad rūpasamuddeśam adṛishṭānām taveritam, dṛishṭam susadṛiśam kāryam sarveshām aviśeshataḥ, chitre sādṛiśyakaraṇam pradhānam*

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parikīrtitam, buddhvā rūpam yathāveśam varṇam cha manujottama, deśe deśe narāḥ kāryā yathāvat tatsamudbhavāḥ, deśam niyogam sthānam cha karma buddhva cha yatnataḥ, āsanam śayanam yānam veśam kāryam narādhipa, 3, 42, 46-50. Bulls in the meadow, grazing or moving at ease, lions and other similar wild animals in their lairs in mountains (Fig. 85, 86), bears, elephants frolicking in their herds in lotus-laden pools, deer and antelopes frisking about in the forests and so forth painted in several interesting miniatures in the Choḷa murals from the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tāñjavūr or in the later medieval murals from the Maṭṭāñcherī palace in Cochin are all excellent examples of this description. The medallion illustrating *Chhaddanta Jātaka* from the Amarāvatī rail and the sculpture illustrating the same scene on the *toraṇa* architrave at Sāñchī and in the painting of this theme from cave 10 at Ajaṇṭā as also the buffaloes gamboling in a pool in a sculptural scene from the *Sāma Jātaka* at Sāñchī are all pictoral renderings of this textual formula. Kshemendra, Rājaśekhara and other such poets who had travelled far and wide and had intimate knowledge of the characteristics of people from different parts of India have given verbal pictures, vignettes of men and women in the most enjoyable manner. This is exactly what is sought to be represented pictorially by the *Vishṇudharmottara* text that suggests such delineation of themes from all over with attention concentrated on meticulous details.

And then there is a suggestion of allegorical representation of personified aspects of nature around. Rivers and streams, it is suggested, should be conceived in feminine form on their respective vehicles, carrying filled water pitchers in their hands and with knees slightly bent. Mountains, on the other hand, are to be noble male figures, with the peaks on their head or in their hand. In the hands of personified continents like Jambūdvīpa there should be shown the earth globe. Oceans are to be depicted with gem-filled pots in their hands, and in the place of their haloes should be the wavy pattern of water suggestive of its expanse as composing them. Personified weapons should have their respective symbols on their heads. Now to consider the representation of personified treasures: a pot suggests any or all the treasures and more specifically as it is symbolic of a receptacle filled with treasures. On the other hand

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Śaṅkhanidhi is suggested by a conch, Padmanidhi by a lotus. Similarly makaranidhi is represented by a crocodile fish and Kachchhapanidhi by a tortoise and so forth for all the nine treasures. All these treasures are to be personified in bodily form holding the respective symbols of *nidhis* like Padma, Śaṅkha and so forth. In the case of celestials of a high order their attributes as well as a rosary and a manuscript should be indicated : *saritām saśarīrāṇām vāhanāni pradarśayet, pūrṇakumbhakarāḥ kāryās tathā nāmitajanavaḥ śailānām śikharam mūrdhni darśayen manujottama, dvīpānām cha kare kāryam tathā bhūmaṇḍalam śubham, parvatās cha tathā rājanstathā śikharapāṇayaḥ, ratnapātrakarāh kāryās sāgarā manujottama, samudrāṇām prabhāsthāne salilam tu pradarśayet, āyudhānām tu tachchihnam kiñchin mūrdhani darśayet, nidhīnām darśayet kumbham śaṅkham śaṅkhasya darśayet, padmam padmasya rājendra śeshānām anurūpataḥ, kāryasyāvayavāḥ kāryās sadehās sadṛiśāḥ pṛithak, divyānām darśayelliṅgam akshamālām cha pustakam*, 3, 42, 51-56.

It is interesting to study these instructions of the *Chitrasūtra* taking examples into account. Gaṅgā on her vehicle, the crocodile fish or *makara*, Yamunā on her tortoise, Sarasvatī on her swan, and so on, are anthropomorphically represented on their respective streams. The classical instance of this is in the Varāha cave at Udayagiri near Vidiśā. The confluence of the streams in wavy pattern is matched by the anthropomorphic figures of the rivers standing on their respective vehicles carrying in their hands brimming pitchers (Fig. 32). The wavy pattern suggestive of water is not only shown here for the stream and the ocean but also peculiarly in the lower portion of the body of Gaṅgā represented as a mermaid in the Choḷa temple at Dārāsuram. The ripply form of water as in a river represented is seen in the early sculptural depiction of Nerañjarā at Amarāvatī (Fig. 87), and the mermaid form of Gaṅgā as triple stream, Tripathagā, is famous in the Gaṅgādhara panel at Elephaṇṭā (Fig. 88) Samudrarāja or the ocean personified is repeated four times at the four corners of the Udayagiri cave to suggest the four oceans, and against the long wavy pattern suggesting the waters of the oceans is the anthropomorphic figure of each ocean, a princely figure with a pot in hand suggestive of a receptacle of gems (Fig. 89) as the ocean is *ratnākara*, a mine of gems, as in the words of

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the poet 'full many a gem of purest ray serene the vast unfathomed depths of ocean bear'.

In the Rāmeśvara cave at Ellora and in the Elephaṇṭā cave, Himavān and Menā in the scene of Pārvatī's marriage are shown personified (Fig. 90). At Ellora Himavān and Menā are shown respectively receiving Brahmā and the seven Rishis arrived on behalf of Śiva to request the mountain lord to give him his daughter in wedlock (Fig. 91). In the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the description of Maināka, son of Himavān standing in anthropomorphic form on top of his own peak to offer his cordial welcome to Hanumān.

In the case of personified weapons, the delineation of the weapon in miniature on the head of the anthropomorphic form is clearly seen in the case of Sudarśanachakra in the Śeshaśāyi panel from Deogarh (Fig. 92), as also in several early Pāla representations of Vishṇu flanked by personified Śaṅkha and Chakra. An interesting Chaumukh of Gupta date representing Sūrya, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva facing the four directions, shows the miniature symbols of the weapons on the head of personified *chakra* and *śaṅkha* in the case of Vishṇu and *triśūla* in the case of Śiva (Fig. 93). Two interesting Choḷa bronzes in the Madras Museum represent anthropomorphic delineation of Sudarśana *chakra* and Kaumodakī *gadā*. All these excellently answer the text of the *Chitrasūtra*, *āyudhānām tu tachchihnam kiñchin mūrdhani darśayet* 3,42,54. Nine treasures in a row at the feet of Kubera the lord of wealth suggest the several treasures, while dwarfish representations of the *nidhis* like Śaṅkha or Padma holding, respectively, the conch and lotus oozing gold coins show the personified figures of these individual treasures. In the case of all celestials concerned with knowledge and exposition of any form of learning the rosary and book are specially associated. The earliest Sarasvatī, an inscribed one of the Kushāṇa period now in the Lucknow Museum, has the *akshamālā* and *pustaka* in her two hands and she has only a single pair of arms. Brahmā seated on a fleet of swans from Elephaṇṭā has similarly these two and other attributes associated with him. Śiva himself as Dakshiṇāmūrti or the Teacher *par excellence* carries the rosary and book. Vishṇu in a rare representation as Gītāchārya has an *akshamālā* in his lower right hand and other usual attributes in

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the rest of his hands. Bṛihaspati and Śukra as Devaguru and Daitya-guru respectively carry the *akshamālā* in their representations amidst Navagraha panels (Fig. 39).

Then follow general instructions in regard to the portrayal of the sky, the vast expanse of earth sterile and fertile, mountains and forests, great sheets of water, towns and villages, fortresses, shopping centres, taverns and drinking booths, gambling courts, battlefields and cemeteries and long caravans of camels and mules carrying laden merchandise. The representation follows close observation: *atah param pravakshyāmi rūpam yad yasya dṛiśyate*, 3, 42, 57. The sky has no colour in particular, is full of birds flying about. The celestial sphere beyond is represented adorned with stars. The earth has to be shown with a mix up of different regions of forests, plains and marshes with their peculiar characteristics. Similarly mountains in their natural form are to be shown with clusters of large boulders, peaks, mineral deposits, wild growth of trees, torrents and waterfalls, pythons. The forest region is delineated by diverse trees in wild unfettered growth, birds and wild animals. Water is represented by an endless variety of fishes, tortoises and turtles, swans and ducks and other similar aquatic life. Cities are represented by picturesque temples, palaces and mansions, markets and well laid out highways and roads. The village is suggested by humbler dwellings and cottages adorned here and there by gardens. All fortresses are to be depicted well-planned and with moats, defence-walls with turrets and watch towers tall as mountains. The market area has to be represented by rich merchandise spread out for sale. The drinking taverns are to be richly stocked with liquor and crowded with inebriate folk. Those engaged in gambling should be shown devoid of even their upper garment, mad in their rush to stake their everything, the winners in the game bright and merry, the losers downcast with grief. The battlefield is to be represented with all the four limbs of the army engaged earnestly in fight and striking with their respective weapons, the field itself strewn with corpses, limbs cut and thrown scattered about with the blood curdling all around. The crematorium is to be shown with burning piers and corpses. The caravan route has to be indicated by camels and other beasts of burden laden with merchandise: *ākāśam darśayed vidvān vivarṇam khagasaṅkulam, tathaiva darś-*

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ayed rājan tārakāmaṇḍitam divam, bhūmim cha jāṅgalānūpamiśram svais svais tathā guṇaiḥ, parvatam tu śilājālais śikharair dhātubhir drumaiḥ, nirjharair bhujagais chaiva darśayen nṛipasattama, vanam nānāvidhair vṛikshair vihaṅgais śvāpadais tathā, toyam cha darśayed vidvān anantair matsyakachchhapaiḥ, padmākshais cha mahārāja tathānyair jalajair gaṇaih, devatāveśmabhis chitraiḥ prāsādāpaṇaveśmabhiḥ, nagaram darśayed vidvān rājamārgais cha śobhanaiḥ, vasatyā darśayed grāmam kiñchid udyānabhūshitam, sarveshām atha durgāṇāṁ kartavyam darśanam tathā, subhūmiviniveśena vaprāṭṭālakaparvataiḥ, paṇyayuktās tu kartavyās tathaivāpaṇabhūmayaḥ, āpānabhūmiḥ kartavyā pānayuktā narākulā, uttarīyavihīnāṁś cha dyūtāsaktān pradarśayet, jitān śokasamāyuktān hṛishṭān labdhajayānstathā, chaturaṅgabalopetam praharadbhir narair yutam, mṛitāvayavaraktāḍhyam raṇabhūmim pradarśayet, chitākuṇapasamyuktam smaśānam cha tathā nṛipa, yuktam sabhārair ushṭrādyair mārgam sārtham pradarśayet, 3, 42, 57-67.

There are interesting practical examples to help visualise these instructions in the text. The many miniatures of the Rājasthāni and Pahārī schools have many examples to suggest the sky by the flight of birds. The birds are generally those of the season, the cranes in the monsoon (Fig. 97) where they appear a long train of white birds on the wing against the otherwise colourless sky that just by its expanse and depth creates an illusion of pale blue as its colour. The heaven beyond the sky represented by the moon and stars is noticed very tellingly represented in the sculpted panel from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa where Māndhātā, the universal monarch, in his fallen state, explains the folly of unlimited desire giving his own case, fallen low from heaven, the abode of stars and celestial luminaries, as a warning to the denizens of the terrestrial region (Fig. 98). Landscapes of different types, riverside scenes, mountainous regions, pastures for cattle, forest glades and every variety of region on earth are found depicted significantly in miniatures illustrating the *Bhāgavata* series, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* and so forth. There is a style in representing mountainous regions and the mountains themselves. This is best observed in the early Choḷa murals from the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tañjāvūr where lions, tigers, bears, elephants and other wild animals individually or in their herds rest in or issue from their lairs. In Mughal paintings (Fig. 99)

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as in very early paintings of the Vākāṭaka age at Ajaṇṭā there is a specific style in the portrayal of the rocks and shrubby growth making up the mountain slopes. There are separate boulders and groups of them closely knit together. The peaks are best shown snow-clad in Kāngrā paintings illustrating Śiva dancing on the *Kailāsādrisabhā,* Devī enthroned watching his dance to the accompaniment of celestial orchestra. The variegated colours and streaks illustrating mineral belts are as described in the line *rītīr nirvartayāmāsa kāñchanāñjanarājatīḥ* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 6, 1.

Similarly in the Govardhana scene in the mural from Maṭṭāncheri palace the mountain is graphically portrayed with wild growth of trees, wild animals in their lairs, boulders all around. Streams and waterfalls are also seen in other similar representations. An early Kushāṇa sculpture from Mathurā shows a damsel enjoying a bath under a waterfall amidst rocks. The Amarāvatī medallion of *Chhaddanta Jātaka* shows a large lotus pool, water fall, animals like lions, boars, antelopes and elephants composing a delightful forest glade. Depiction of water whether in a stream or a pool has always been by the device of waves and ripples, aquatic beings like fish, tortoises, crocodiles and so forth, cranes, ducks and other waterfowl as well as lotuses and lilies (Fig. 94). This is seen both in sculpture and painting. The city of prince Vessantara is indicated by the chariot of the prince taking its course on the high road studded with a variety of shops with traders busy plying their trade (Fig. 82, 100).

A village with ripe corn fields, small dwellings and plantation groves and mango orchards with cows and calves running out to graze is all an oft met with theme in the Pahārī and Rājasthāni miniatures. Fortresses with watch towers, turreted walls, moats filled with lotuses, entrances with fortifications are a regular feature in early narrative panels from Sāñchī, Bhārhut, Amarāvatī and so forth (Fig. 95). Coomaraswamy has figured these and elaborately explained their significance in his important paper on Cities and City Gateways in Eastern Art. In the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāvaṇa's fortified city is graphically portrayed giving all these characteristics observed in early sculpture. In the miniatures also all these factors can be observed and studied. The scene from the *Vessantara Jātaka*

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illustrating the merchants plying their different wares to run their trade is the example to illustrate the text on this (Fig. 100). The tavern is a not too frequently met with theme though not altogether absent in portraiture. The gambling scene occurs in the *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* at Ajaṇṭā. Earlier there is a gambling scene in Bhārhut sculpture. The throw of dice by the Pāṇḍavas as they played with the Kauravas (Fig. 139), the similar game by Nala and Pushkara are scenes that find pictorial representation in the miniatures. Here the upper garment is shown absent on the shoulder of the earnest gambler. The gambler's lament in the *Ṛigveda* is a continuous wail through the millennia and centuries, seen in even the seventeenth-eighteenth century miniatures. If Kālidāsa gives a graphic picture of a tumultuous battle, and the battlefield is a vivid delineation at very great length in both the epics, even epigraphical literature revels in such a portrayal in words, as in the Kūram grant of Pallava Parameśvaravarman, and pictorial art in India has not lagged behind the literary. There are several battles portrayed in murals and many more in the miniatures and book illustrations. In Sāñchī and Amarāvatī there are vivid sculptured battle scenes, at Ajaṇṭā the murals are as eloquent in portrayal of the theme, and in book illustrations like those in *BābarNāmā* (Fig, 96) and miniatures illustrating the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* or even the Chaṇḍī or the story of Ushāṇiruddha, there is no dearth of picturesque presentation of the points raised in the text like fierce fighting hosts, the four-fold army element, corpses scattered all over the battle-field, dismembered limbs strewn about in pools of blood, ravens hovering and jackals prowling for their prey, all so very striking indeed. Though the crematorium is a theme mostly avoided, there are occasional representations, as in the case of Hāladevī's corpse on the funeral pyre with the flames ablaze and the Vākāṭaka inscription giving an account of the panel. Similarly there are miniature paintings and book illustrations illustrating long troops of camels (Fig. 101) and mules carrying merchandise through famous caravan routes.

And now the moods of nature are taken up for treatment in appropriate pictorial representation. The portrayal of night is by showing the moon, stars (Fig. 103) and planets, people asleep or engaged in nocturnal amours, and thieves prowling about (Fig. 105).

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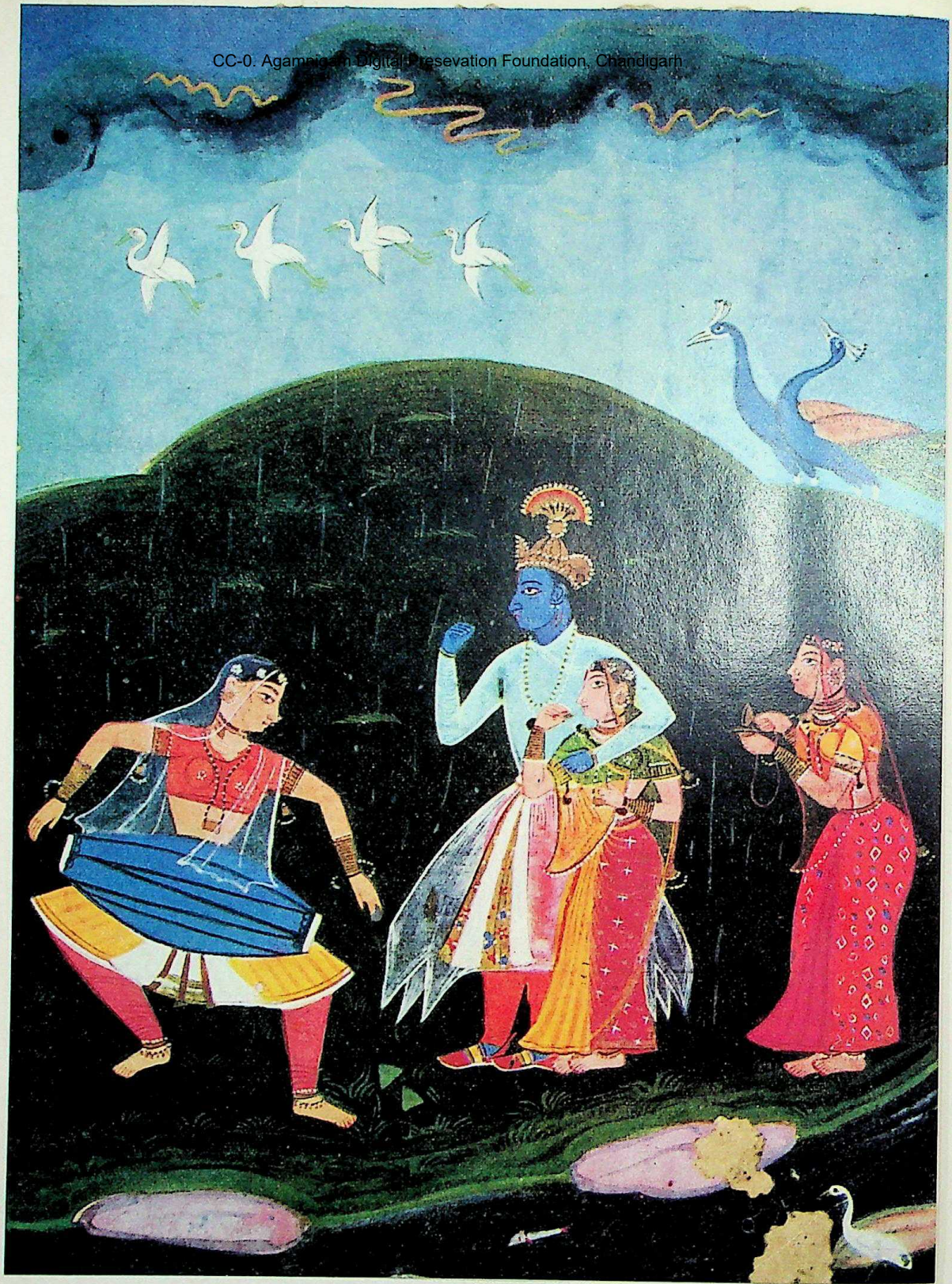

Fig. 108. *Meghamallar*, note laden clouds and lightning, Mewār school, 18th century A.D., National Museum.

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In the earlier part of the night the loving damsel heading towards the place of the tryst to meet her lover, the *abhisārikā*, is to be shown (Fig. 75) and the approach of dawn is to be indicated by the lights diminishing as the sky assumes a crimson hue and cocks crow to herald daybreak. There may also be another way of representing daybreak by showing men sallying forth and engaged in their respective pursuits and Brāhmaṇas religiously busy offering their morning ablutions to the sun rising in crimson glory. The darkness of night is indicated by men shown feeling their way. Moonlight shed by the moon is to be delineated by the bloom of blue lilies. Also it is indicated by a cool leaf-spread bed with lotus pollen strewn to indicate the mitigating of the heat experienced from moonlight by the love-lorn damsel (*virahiṇīs*) in separation. Rain is indicated by a downpour to avoid which men and women would cover themselves (Fig. 112). The heat of summer is shown by the sun in the sky and the folk around tormented by heat. Spring is suggested by the seasonal trees in blossom, humming with bees and resounding with the coo of the cuckoo, and men and women moving about blithe and gay (Fig. 113). Summer is delineated by the fatigue experienced by men, animals seeking the shade of trees and arbours (Fig. 107), buffaloes enjoying a dip in the mire of muddy water (Fig. 106) as the pools dry up (Fig. 114), birds hiding themselves in the thick verdure of trees and wild animals like the lion and tiger repairing to the cool comfort of their mountain caverns (Fig. 85, 86). The rainy season is portrayed by dark-laden clouds rather bent down by their aquatic burden and beautified by the colourful impact of the rainbow and lit up now and again by the flash of streaks of lightning (Fig. 108). Autumn is painted by trees laden with fruit, corn ripe in the fields (Fig. 116), pools filled with lotuses and swans. Approach of winter is indicated by dew and fog settled all over, the earth bare and dreary, and the whole atmosphere misty (Fig. 99). The deep cold of winter is portrayed by crows and elephants joyous, men tormented by cold and snowfall all around everywhere. The painter should study the picture and mood of nature and depict the seasons as he sees around him by the flowers and fruit on trees and the joy or happiness of men, animals and birds: *sachandragrahanaksahtrām tathā darśitalaukikām, āsannataskarām rātrim darśayet suptamānavām, prāgrātre darśayet tatra tathā chaivābhisārikām, sāruṇo mlānadīpas cha pratyūsho*

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rutakukkuṭaḥ, karmavyagrajanaprāyaḥ kartavyo vā naras tathā, dvijair niyamabhir yuktām raktām sandhyām pradarśayet, tamaso darśanam kāryam hastasamsarpakair naraiḥ, kumudānām vikāse cha jyotsnām chandre pradarśayet, darśayet sarajasyām cha śayyām parṇotkarāvṛitām, samvṛittamānavaprāyām vṛishṭim vṛishṭyā pradarśayet, prāṇinām kleśataptānām ādityena nidarśayet, vṛikshair vasantajaih phullaiḥ kokilā-madhupotkaṭaiḥ, prahṛishṭanaranārīkam vasantam tu pradarśayet, klāntaiḥ kāryam narair grīshmmām mṛīgais chhāyāgatais tathā, mahishaiḥ paṅkasamlīnais tathā śushkajalāśayām, vihaṅgair drumasamlīnais simhavyāghrair guhāgataiḥ, toyanamraghanair yuktām sendrachāpavibhū-shaṇaiḥ, vidyudvidyotanair yuktām prāvṛisham darśayet tathā, saphala-drumasamyuktām pakvasasyām vasundharām, sahamsapadmasalilām śaradam tu tathā likhet, sabāshpasalilam sthānam tathā lūnavasundha-ram, sanīhāradigantam cha hemantam darśayed budhaḥ, hrishṭavāya-samātaṅgam śītārtajanasaṅkulam, śiśiram tu likhed vidvān, himachchhan-nadigantaram, vṛikshāṇām pushpaphalataḥ prāṇinām madatas tathā, ṛitūnām darśanam kāryam lokān dṛishṭvā narādhipa, 3, 42, 68-80.

Now to take examples. The dream of Māyā shown in Amarāvatī and Bhārhut suggest the dim night light, *niśīthadīpa*, and show the queen asleep on her couch, her attendants also sleeping close to her even as they are seated. In another scene, that of Siddhārtha resolving to leave the palace at midnight a graphic composition from Amarā-vatī (Fig. 104) and a similar one from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa show the musical damsels and dancers fast asleep each holding her musical instrument as in the description of women asleep in Rāvaṇa's harem in the Pushpaka palace. There are miniature paintings with nocturnal scenes where the darkness of night is graphically portrayed with stars in the sky (Fig. 103) and lamps in mansions and house-holds make the picture telling. There are other paintings showing the folk asleep and thieves prowling (Fig. 105). The *abhisārikā* or the girl hurrying to the spot of the tryst (Fig. 75) suggesting the earlier part of the night is again of two kinds *kṛishṇa* and *śukla*, the former dark and the latter moon-lit. Moonlit scenes illustrating night and revelry in the night is illustrated in miniatures of the *Bhāgavata* series also where *rāsakrīḍā* and *jalakrīḍā* are portrayed. In a Mathurā sculpture of the first century B.C. there is a fine depiction of sunrise, the joy of the horizon as the sun rises in his chariot preceded by the Vālakhilya sages, when the lotus blooms and a cock near by suggests

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by its crowing its announcement of day-break (Fig. 109). The tawny colour of the sky at dawn is observed in paintings. Sunrise and people commencing their daily work, the plowman hurrying to the field, the artisans carrying their tools to start their vocations, the heat of the day as noon approaches, men fatigued and resting and partaking of food at a dining hall, musicians, florists going in a procession in the evening and the return from work as twilight approaches, the rise of the sun starting the long frieze, the thousand-armed and myriad faced sun at the meridian in the centre, and the moon against the crescent at the terminal, is a telling sculpture of the second-third century A.D., now in the Lucknow Museum, admirably illustrating the text of the *Chitrasūtra* regarding the procedure in portraying the hour and mood of day or night (Fig. 110). The approach of thieves during the night is also portrayed in some miniatures. There is a very important panel at Mahābalipuram showing the time of the day as noon, (Fig. 111) with the sun fiercely scorching in mid-summer and Arjuna performing penance standing on a single foot amidst the fires, the fifth one from the sky on high, the sages and the young hermits, some of them just wringing water out of their wet clothes after a bath in the stream, some filling their pots with holy water to be carried to their hermitage, yet others finishing their *mādhyandina sandhyā* noon-worship by looking at the solar rays through the aperture of the interlocked fingers in *yamapāśamudrā* which suggests noon, other Rishis engaged in *dhyāna* and *yoga* with the *yogapaṭṭa* around their knee, the sages themselves looking frail and weak but lustrous and beautified by their bundled up *jaṭās*, which is all a wonderful commentary on the text of the *Chitrasūtra*. The grandeur of moonlight and moon-lit night is suggested by the white and blue lotuses in bloom as they peep through the rippled water depicted in Kāngrā and other miniatures of various schools. The *virahiṇī* or the loving damsel separated from her beloved one mitigating her suffering by the aid of the cool bed of lotus leaves with lotus pollen strewn is again shown in appropriate context in miniatures illustrating the *nāyikās* of different pattern.

There is a beautiful painting of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa (Fig. 112), together caught in rain, both standing under a tree with a single shawl covering them and protecting them from the fast descending drops, which admirably illustrates the *Chitrasūtra* text. The rigour of heat in summer is shown in miniatures where cool glade and a dip

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in cool water is illustrated. There are charming paintings of the *bārāmāsa* series showing the trees blooming with vernal flowers, bees humming about and cuckoos cooing, and men and women happily enjoying the beauty of the season. A painting shows a *nāyikā* moving gay in a *pramadavana* taken in by the beauty of the lake filled with blooming lotuses (Fig. 113). Similarly the rigour of summer is suggested by buffaloes enjoying a dip even in shallow water. The beautiful line of Kālidāsa *gāhantām mahishā nipānasalilam śṛiṅgair muhus tāḍitam* is almost visually represented in the buffaloes in the stream near the hut of the blind parents of Sāma in the *Sāma Jātaka* panel from Sāñchī (Fig. 106). The next line *chhāyābaddhakadambakam mṛigakulam romantham abhyasyatu* describing groups of deer chewing the cud under the shade of a tree in the hermitage, is again a vivid suggestion of summer heat, also represented pictorially in sculpture, as from the theme treated in a half medallion on a pillar in the Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭaḍakal and in some of the miniatures of the Rājasthāni and Pahārī schools. The poetic description of the snake escaping heat by seeking the shade of the tail of even the peacock that is its inveterate foe is very telling, especially when the verse *uttapto'yam uraṅgamaḥ śikhitalachchhāyām samālambate vairam sāhajikam vihāya cha śikhī mūlam taror gachchhati, yāchante cha jalam nikuñjabhavane tṛishṇāturās śārikās tapte vāriṇi paṅkajāni madhupās tyaktvā śrayante latāḥ, Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, 337, 54, is studied in the context of a painting of the Kāngrā school representing this aspect of summer and this detail as well (Fig. 107). The drying up pool in summer, one of the miseries in the village, is another, nowhere better shown than in a sculpture from Amarāvatī illustrating *Lossa Jātaka*, where the elephant is struggling through mire (Fig. 114). This is a pictorial rendering of the text *śushkajalāśayam*. Another, telling example is a painting from Dandan Oiliq (Fig. 115), showing a damsel and child in a house pond, where the lotuses with great length of stalk indicate the receding level of water described picturesquely by Kālidāsa. The onslaught of summer presented itself in the receding level of water. that day by day revealed more of the moss-covered steps, with the greater length of lotus stalks made visible, till it was on level with the hips of damsels that bathed in their house-ponds: *dine dine śaivalavantyadhastāt sopānaparvāṇi vimuñchad ambhaḥ, uddaṇḍapadmam gṛihadīrghikāṇām nārīnitambadvayasam*

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babhūva, 16, 46. Lions and tigers having a snooze in their cool dens are clearly shown in the boulder carving of Arjuna's penance (Fig. 111 and 85, 86) where, while sages are in rigorous penance in the fierce sun, the wild beasts are tucked up in the dark of the cave as described in the *Chitrasūtra* text *simhavyāghrair guhāgataiḥ*.

Paintings illustrating dark laden clouds, hanging low, with golden streaks of lightning against them, and sārasa birds on the wing in a row (Fig 97), are a legion in the *bārāmāsa* series, which abound in every school. The presence of lovers in close proximity, avoiding the dread of separation at such a critical hour as the one darkened by clouds, lit up in a flash now and again by lightning streaks, and trumpeting in loud thunder, as drops descend in quick succession announcing as it were Cupid's triumph, is not only given in the verse *raṭatu jaladharaḥ patantu dhārās sphuratu taṭin maruto'pi vāntu śītāḥ, iyam urasi mahaushadhīva kāntā nikhilabhayapratighātinī sthitā me, Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* 340, 30, but also in the pictures illustrating every detail in it (Fig 112). The picture of the white cranes in a row against dark clouds, as a necklace of pearls on the dark chest of Kṛishṇa, where golden-hued Rādhā is like an yellow streak of lightning, *urasi murārer upahitahāre ghana iva taralabalāke taṭid iva pīte rativiparīte rājasi sukṛitavipāke, Gītagovinda* 1, is a fine melody of Jayadeva lit up pictorially almost. A line of Śūdraka that describes the feature of white storks against dark clouds, *gāyadbhis sataṭid-balākaśabalair meghais saśalyam manaḥ, Mṛichchhakaṭika* 5, 1 is another literary appraisal of this picturesque theme. The mirth of the peacock, with spread tail dancing, welcoming cool showers *navāmbumattāḥ śikhino nadanti meghāgame kundasamānadanti, Ghaṭakarpara*, adds lustre to the colour of the picture, where the rainbow on the dark cloud simulates the peacock feather on the dressed hair of dark-hued Kṛishṇa, *yena śyāmam vapur atitarām kāntim āpatsyate te barheṇeva sphuritaruchinā gopaveshasya vishṇoḥ, Meghadūta*, 1, 15. The colourful rainbow adds a rare pathos to the picture of the blind girl by Millais, where the eyes of the sweet girl cannot behold its charm. The overcast clouds, with lightning streaks and rows of cranes in their flight (Fig. 108), diminishing in size as they recede, at once give a picturesque effect of approaching showers, particularly in pictures of the Kāngrā school, and the downpour itself is never more picture-

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sque than in the Basohli treatment of the vertical lines of dots indicating the fast falling drops (Fig 112), as if the sky is ripped open to empty its water content, or even as though the sky, getting melted, pours down as rain, *dravībhūtam manye patati jalarūpeṇa gaganam, Mṛichchhakaṭika* 5, 25, the drops themselves appearing scattered pearls of crystal hue falling from the dark clouds simulating the temples of elephants, *visasṛipuḥ prakarā iva mauktikās sphaṭikabhaṅgaruchā jalabi davaḥ, Jānakīharaṇa* 11, 70.

Śarat or autumn is represented in full glory with orchards filled with fruit on their trees, ripe corn waving in the fields, lotuses in their bloom in ponds adding lustre to the swans gaily moving about on the ripples, and the bright moon lighting up the night with a milkwhite lustre. A painting of the Kāngrā school of a *nāyikā*, immaculately dressed white and moving in slow swan gait near a lotus-laden pool, is an excellent example of this (Fig 113). Another is a rural beauty, also in a Kāngrā painting, guarding the waving corn in the field in the proximity of the village with its few humble dwellings (Fig. 116) recalling Kālidāsa's *śāligopyo jagur yaśaḥ, Raghuvaṁśa* 4, 20. A verse attributed to Bāṇa describing 'the room door shut, fire placed in the vicinity of the bedstead, thick cotton coverlet over the body as a cover, and the soothing warmth in the close embrace of the beloved, what is all this that winter provides for the sleeping one': *dvāram gṛihasya pihitam śayanasya pārśve vahnir jvalatyupari tūlapaṭo garīyān, aṅgānukūlam anurāgavaśam kalatram itham karoti kim asau svapatas tushāraḥ, Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍagāra* p. 347, 12, is answered in a nocturnal winter scene where the lovers are wrapped up in the blanket in a Kāngrā painting (Fig 117). A Moghul painting from the *Bābarnāmā* shows the rigour of winter where everything appears frozen and bare (Fig 99). That the Rishis are *nirdvandvas* and treat heat and cold alike with an indifference is suggested in a miniature illustrating sages adoring a Śivaliṅga at the top of the Himālaya mountain, abode of snow, with a deep layer of ice on the slopes, the trees all bare and almost shrivelled up in the cold. Well can Kālidāsa add a vividness to the *Chitrasūtra* text *śītārtajanasaṁkulam* by describing the equine-faced variety of Kinnara damsels that would not give up their slow pace that lends charm to their swan gait in spite of the pricking cold experienced by their

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feet as they move about in the snow-clad mountain path: *udvejayatyaṅgulipārshṇibhāgān mārge śilībhūtahime'pi yatra, na durvahaśroṇipayodharārtā bhindanti mandam gatim aśvamukhyaḥ, Kumārasambhava,* 1, 11.

The text giving a general direction for representing the several seasons by the fruit and blossom in trees and the attitudes of joy or pain, exhaustion or drowziness in men and animals as the artist notices in nature around *vrikshāṇām pushpaphalataḥ prāṇinām madatas tathā ṛitūnām darśanam kāryam lokān dṛishṭvā narādhipa* is echoed in a similar statement of the poet suggesting summer, where it arrives as it were to instruct the beloved ones in appropriate dress, the upper garment interwoven with gems, garlands pendant on pale breasts and silk garments so fine as to be blown away by the merest breath: *athāsya ratnagrathitottarīyam ekāntapaṇḍustanalambihāram, niśvāsahāryamśukam ājagāma gharmaḥ priyā veśam ivopadeshṭum, Raghuvamśa* 16, 43. The finest web-like dress for summer is appropriately given in paintings for that season.

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CHAPTER SIX

APPRAISAL OF PAINTINGS

That art flourished and blossomed so well in India is due to favourable conditions for growth assured by the existence of an appreciative audience well versed in the techniques, import, suggestive excellence, presence of qualities that add lustre and absence of defects that detract from the excellence of the finished product. These qualities in pictures and sculptures as in literature could be adjudged by competent critics who could detect, approve and discourage respectively masterpieces and inferior work. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkshita has raised a fundamental question on what is beauty and has almost made it appear that every point of view differs from every other and in its totality of unresolved definition makes each viewpoint ridiculous in the eyes of the other that appreciates only ones own view point as the correct one. The dog with joy regards the curl of the bitch's tail, the pig similarly the rotund belly of the sow, the monkey the full exhibition of the teeth of his mate in a chuckle, the donkey the loud bray of his sweetheart, and man similarly delights in the tumour on the chest of his woman; what after all has been arrived at as to what is beauty except for the feeling that each one is considered an ignorant notion by the other; *śvānaḥ puchchhāñchālakuṭilatām sūkarāḥ kukshiposham kīśā dantaprakaṭanavidhim gardabhā rūkshaghosham, martyā vakshaśśvayuthum api cha strīshu dṛīshṭvā ramante tat saundaryam kim iti phalitam tattadajñānato'nyat, Vairāgyaśataka*. This being a universal factor, the appreciation of art by those devoid of the elements of education, not to talk of aesthetic knowledge or perception, is specially given in a graphic picture of the manner in which, rustics, total strangers to art appreciation, adjudge paintings.

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A verse of Rudrabhaṭṭa describes how hunters, with their womenfolk, gaze at the murals in the deserted palaces of vanquished kings, fled therefrom, criticise the shortcomings in the taste of the painters who have shown pearl strands as jewels on the breasts instead of *guñja* seeds and lotus on the ear instead of peacock feather, and heartily so laugh aloud at such impropriety as to make their eyes squeamish with tears: *tyaktvā guñjaphalāni mauktikamayī bhūshā staneshvāhitā strīṇām kashṭam idam kṛitam sarasijam karṇe na barhichchhadam, ittham nātha tavāridhāmni śabarair ālokya chitrasthitim bāshpārdrīkritalochanais sphuṭaravam dārais samam hasyate, Śṛiṅgāratilaka* p. 145. It is as a contrast to these that excellent connoisseurship presented itself through art critics well versed in the science and theory of art as well as in its practice. Not only were artists understood and appreciated but were so appropriately rated as to create an emulative spirit in them and a desire to excel in an art they loved so well.

Pictures were not only painted by painters, with all their mute eloquence infused in them, to reveal themselves and the sense that they were intended to convey in a rare language, not in any way less expressive than *abhinaya* in dance, but connoisseurs could very well understand the minutest details intended to be expressed by the pictures in the way they were executed. In short, pictures were expressive of many things. Just as in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* there is the painting of the princess suggesting to the king that it was a portrait of an unmarried girl from the arrangement of the figure, the dress and so on, there is a picture described in the *Daśakumāracharita* where a clever painter suggests many interesting details about the woman painted in his picture. Once he saw a painted canvas in the hand of a painter who had just arrived. The young woman that was painted in it suffused the mind of Kalahakaṇṭaka with love on just a look at it. He spoke thus to the painter—'my good friend! This looks so contradictory; indeed her (beautiful) form is (normally) impossible in a humdrum household, but her humility bespeaks her high birth; her face is pale, her body is exceedingly beautiful as she has been sparingly enjoyed by her mate, her looks are mature. She is not a wife with her lord away from her on travel as she does not bear any sign of undressed hair and the like. On the other hand there is a suggestion here that the husband is a loving one close to her.

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Therefore she looks obviously a housewife, the spouse of an elderly merchant, rather feeble in his virility, and she naturally appears tormented by inadequate enjoyment from him. And all this has been so skilfully portrayed by you as you had observed.' The painter praised his judgement and replied — 'You are right. This is Nitambavatī (lit. beautiful in her hips), appropriately so named, wife of a rich merchant named Anantakīrti in the city of Ujjain in Avanti, whom, astonished at her beauty, I painted:' *sa chaikadā kasyachid āgantos chitrakarasya haste chitrapaṭam dadarśa, tatra kāchid ālekhyagatā yuvatir alokamātreṇaiva kalahakaṇṭakasya kāmāturam chetas chakara. sa cha tam abravīt — 'bhadra! viruddham ivaitat pratibhāti, yataḥ kulajādurlabham vapuḥ ābhijātyaśamsinī cha namratā, pāṇḍarā cha mukhachhavih, anatiparibhuktasubhagā cha tanuḥ, prauḍhatānuviddhā cha dṛishtiḥ. na chaishā proshitabhartṛikā pravāsachihnasyaikaveṇyāder adarśanāt. lakshma chaitad dakshiṇapārśvavarti. tad iyam vṛiddhasya kasyachid vaṇijo'natipumstvasya yathārhasambhogālābhapīḍitā gṛihiṇī tvayātikauśalād yathādṛishṭam ālikhitā bhavitum arhati'iti. sa tam abhipraśasyāśamsat — satyam idam. avantipuryām ujjayinyām anantakīrtināmnas sārthavāhasya bhāryā yathārthanāmā nitambavatī nāmaishā saundaryavismitena mayaivam ālikhitā, Daśakumāracharita, uttarapīṭhikā*, 6, p. 167.

A great painter tries to represent an ideal. The faults that meet his eyes he ignores and represents only the good in things. It is in his power to better the universe at least in his picture.

Ānandavardhana has stated emphatically that the poet is the one unshackled creator who can create as he likes in the great limitless cycle of poesy; as he wishes so does the universe transform itself for him: *apāre kāvyasamsāre kavir ekaḥ prajāpatiḥ, yathāsmai rochate viśvam tathāsmai parivartate, Dhvanyāloka* 3. What applies to the poet equally applies to the painter. 'All the objects', says Sir Joshua Reynolds addressing the students of the Royal Academy, 'which are exhibited to our view by nature, upon close examination will be found to have their blemishes and defects. The most beautiful forms have something about them like weakness, minuteness or imperfection. But it is not every eye that perceives these blemishes. It must be an eye long used to the contemplation and

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comparison of these forms; and which, by a long habit of observing what any set of objects of the same kind have in common, has acquired the power of discerning what each wants in particular. This long laborious comparison should be the first study of the painter who aims at the greatest style. By this means, he acquires a just idea of beautiful forms; he corrects nature by herself, her imperfect state by her more perfect'. *Discourses on Art,* 3rd discourse p. 30. It is this—the true philosophy of art—that Kālidāsa succinctly sums up in his verse *yad yat sādhu na chitre syāt kriyate tat tat anyathā, tathāpi tasyā lāvaṇyam rekhayā kiñchid anvitam, Abhijñānaśākuntalam* 6. 16. The interpretation of this verse has been made most meaningful by my revered Professor Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastri who explained to me years ago in my student days splitting the line into *yad yat sādhu na* and *chitre tat tat anyathā syātkriyate* meaning that whatever is not beautiful can be made different in a picture. *Syātkriyate* is used in the sense of *kriyeta.* This meaning of the verse gives the function of art to beautify and idealise the blemishes and weaknesses if any, and still Dushyanta, in spite of his great proficiency in art, could only partially represent the beauty of Śakuntalā, so lovely is her form.

It is of this function of art that Sir Joshua Reynolds talks when he says 'the moderns are not less convinced than the ancients of this superior power existing in the art; nor less sensible of its effects. Every language has adopted terms expressive of this influence. The *gusto grande* of the Italians, the *beau ideal* of the French, and the *great style*, *genius*, and *taste* among the English, are but different appellations of the same thing. It is this intellectual dignity, they say, that ennobles the painter's art; that lays the line between him and the mere mechanic; and produces those great effects in an instant, which eloquence and poetry, by slow and repeated efforts, are scarcely able to attain'. *Discourses on Art*, 3rd discourse p. 28.

A sophisticated study of painting like this naturally brought into being standards of art criticism like those of literary criticism in *Alaṁkāraśāstra. Guṇas* and *doshas*, merits and defects, the proper portrayal of *rasas*, emotions, suggestive import, styles of execution, are all elaborated in the *Chitrasūtra*, the standard text on the

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principles of painting, which was assiduously studied by painters and connoisseurs. *Nāgarakas*, connoisseurs of art, accomplished courtesans, painters and sculptors, among others that could claim a liberal education, were familiar with this aspect of art.

The elements that contribute to help a picture to attract or repel a spectator are merits like delicacy of line, sweetness of execution, symmetry, likeness to the original, foreshortening, suitable background, spirited and lifelike deportment of the figure and so forth, and defects like coarseness of line work, weak and vague drawing, lack of symmetry, over-sized depiction of cheeks, lips and eyes, awry line work, colour-muddling, inapropriate pose, lack of emotion, vacant look in the figure, smudgy execution, lifeless portrayal, disproportionate limbs, dishevelled hair and so on: *daurbalyam sthūlarekhātvam avibhaktatvam eva cha, bṛihadgaṇḍa-ushṭhanetratvam vakrarekhātvam eva cha, varṇānām saṅkaras chātra chitradoshāḥ prakīrtitāḥ, sthānam pramāṇam bhūlambho madhuratvam vibhaktatā sādṛiśyam kshayavṛiddhī cha guṇāshṭakam idam smṛitam, sthānahīnam gatarasam śūnyadṛishṭimalīmasam, chetanārahitam yat syāt tad aśastam prakīrtitam, lasatīva cha bhūlambho ślishyatīva tathā nṛipa, hasatīva cha mādhuryam sajīva iva dṛiśyāte, saśvāsa iva yachchitram tachchitram śubhalakshaṇam, hīnāṅgam malinam śūnyam baddhavyādhi-bhayākulaiḥ, vṛitam prakīrṇakeśais cha sumaṅgalyair vivarjayet, pratītam cha likhed dhīmān nāpratītam kathañchana, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 43, 17-23.

The author of the *Chitrasūtra* has felt the importance of *guṇadoshas* so much that he has repeated these two verses and a half describing them in chapters 41 and 43. Here however there is a slight difference in reading in the naming of these defects. The first is *bindurekhātva* in the place of *sthūlarekhātva*, both of which are defects, and the difference is helpful and does not look as appearing so because of any confusion. The second is *samviruddhatva* in the place of *vakrarekhātva*, where both again are defects, and the difference in reading adds to our knowledge. The third is *mānavākāratā* in the place of *varṇānām saṅkaraḥ*, and here again both are defects, and this variation in reading promotes rather than confuses ones understanding.

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Except where dots are used in stippling for producing the effect of light and shade, lines, drawn hesitatingly in dots, rather than in bold free flowing strokes, are no doubt a defect in painting as pointed out in the line *bindurekhātva*. Coarse lines where fine lines are expected is again a defect which is meant by *sthūlarekhātva*. Here a difference has to be made between deliberate thick lines drawn here and there as a contrast to the normal fine lines for emphasising any particular contour, which, naturally, is a merit and not a defect. What is meant by *sthūlarekhā* is a coarse line where it is not required and when it appears where line drawing should be delicate and thin. *Samviruddhatva* is that which is not faithful and opposed to nature. An artist is expected to study not only the anatomy of man, animal and fowl, of trees and shrubs, of rocks and minerals, streams and torrents, seascape, landscape, cloudscape and so forth, but even moods and conditions, related stances and movements, so that there is propriety and no contradiction in delineation. When there is flagrant contradiction it is a defect and this is *samviruddhatva*. *Vakrarekhātva* is the use of *vakrarekhā* or curved line where it is not appropriate. Generally a curve is considered charming but where it is not appropriate and a straight line is required, the artist should have a trained hand to draw a neat straight line with no crookedness in it anywhere, which, if present, is a defect. *Mānavākāratā* is failure to suggest celestial glory in a figure of a deity by the absence of all the required *mahāpurushalakshaṇas* so that it appears devoid of celestial qualities and just commonplace and earthly-looking. There has been so great an emphasis on portrayal of celestial forms that this is a serious defect and has hence been specially mentioned so. *Varṇānām saṅkaraḥ* is a bad judging and juxtaposition of colours. As an example can be given a picture of Balarāma who has a fair complexion and wears blue garments. Simply because yellow silk looks so charming it cannot be used to drape Balarāma. It is only for dark-complexioned Kṛishṇa that it can be used. Naturally even their names are *nīlāmbaro rauhiṇeyaḥ* and *pītāmbaro' chyutas sārṅgī*. Mixing of colours also is a great art and wrong judgement would produce an effect far from pleasing. Colour sense was so highly developed in India, where they could distinguish very subtle and fine shades, that no wrong admixture could be tolerated. So it is a defect specially chosen to be avoided.

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A short but very valuable critical appraisal of a painting with all its *guṇas*, *doshas*, *bhūshaṇas* and *rasa* is given in the *Upāmitibhāva-prapañchakathā*. This gives us to understand that a very fine line drawing hidden by a delicate coating of bright colour, an excellent treatment of an illusion of relief on a flat surface technically termed chiaroscuro, a proper method of appropriate ornamentation, a symmetrical representation of an ideal body, a proper shading of the figures by a mode of stippling, and a proper representation of the emotion in the heart by an expression of it in the eyes, are all essential factors that go to make a good picture: *pravighāṭya nirūpito harikumāreṇa, yāvaddṛishṭam ālikhitam ekapuṭe suvibhaktojjvalena varṇakrameṇa alakshyamāṇais tūlikāpadakair anurūpayā sūkshmarekhayā prakaṭadarśanena nimnonnatavibhāgena samuchitena bhūshaṇakalāpena suvibhaktāvayavarachanayātivilakshaṇayā binduvartinyā abhinavasneharasotsukatayā parasparam harshotphullabaddhadṛishṭikam samārūḍhapremātibandhuraikatayālaṅghitachittaniveśam vidyādharamithunakam iti. Upamitibhāvaprapañchakathā*, p. 890. Almost a sequal to this is another passage from the same book where a prince admires the skill of the painter who has portrayed a very beautiful damsel laying stress in his remarks on the line work, ornamentation, colouring and depiction of emotion. Emphasis is laid on the portrayal of emotion which is the most difficult thing for the painter to depict and which settles, as it were, the capacity of the artist and clearly places him as a master or a tyro in art: 'Said the prince "Oh I am charmed by the skill of this painter. So it is — The lines here are so pure, the ornamentation is so appropriate, the colour manipulation is so appropriately graded, the excellence of emotion is so clear". The highlighting of emotion is not so easy in a picture, and that alone is commended by connoissuers An abundance of it is clearly seen here. As this damsel has been painted in the bloom of youth and as suffused with love, even young inexperienced boys can, without being told, discern this emotion in her, not to talk of connoisseurs. It is indeed so. As though emitting the lustre of her sheen, and with her breast and nipple pronounced, she very well proclaims herself in the fullness of youth. Her eyes sportively glancing and her brows coquettishly raised, she expresses delicately, almost as if in words spoken. Charming with her smiling face lotus-like, and the cheeks sparkling, her eyes atremble, she reveals herself

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as carrying Cupid in her. And so my mind is fascinated by this girl painted by some master in painting': *abhihitam anena. aho! rañjito'ham anena chitrakarakauśalena. tathāhi — atra suviśuddhā rekhā, saṅgatāni bhūshaṇāni, uchitakramā varṇavichchhittiḥ, parisphuṭo bhāvātiśayaḥ—iti. dushkaram cha chitre bhāvārādhanam, tadeva chābhimatam atividagdhānām. tasya chātra prakarshaḥ parisphuṭo dṛiśyate. yasmād upārūḍhayauvanā samadanā cheyam ālikhitā kanyakā tad asyām sambandhinam amum bhāvaviśesham aniveditam api lakshayanti bālakā api kimuta vidvāmsaḥ. tathā hi—lavaṇyam udgirantīva prodbhinnastanachūchukā, eshā proddāmatāruṇyām ātmānam kathayatyalam, unnamitaikabhrūbhaṅgair līlāmantharitekshaṇā, mandam nivedayatyeshā vachanair iva kanyakā, kapolasphuritair divyais smeravaktrābjabandhurā, vibhāvyate 'tilolākshī vahantī makaradhvajam, Upamitibhāvaprapañchakathā*, p. 876.

Now to take the *doshas* and *guṇas* individually to consider them in detail. Weak and coarse line work, unsteady line and broken line, line composed of dots and not drawn with a flourish as one stroke, awry or crooked line where the line is intended to be steady and straight, are all *doshas*. Regarding the coarse line, *sthūlarekhā*, Śyāmilaka deplores how inferior artists known as Ḍiṇḍins ruin delicately drawn beautiful paintings by scrawling coarse lines obliterating the charm of the original in their work of repair and restoration: *ālekhyam ātmalipibhir gamayanti nāśam saudheshu kūrchakamalīmashim arpayanti, ādaya tīkshṇataradhāram ayovikāram prāsādabhūmishu ghuṇakriyayā charanti, Pādatāḍitaka*, p 21. Coarse line indicates coarse work, and it is indeed interesting to recall the opinion of the great art critic Ruskin on this: 'As its greatness depends on the sum of truth and this sum of truth can always be increased by delicacy of handling, it follows that all great art must have this delicacy to the utmost possible degree. The rule is infallible and inflexible. All coarse work is a sign of low art. ... All great art is delicate art and all coarse art is bad art.' *Modern Painters* 3, p. 42. The line drawn by a clever artist should be delicate and suggestive rather than coarse, loud and confusing. It should be so drawn with delicacy and suggestion that it is *sollekhā rekhā*: *ālekhyam chiram ullilekha vijane sollekhayā rekhayā, Rājendrakarṇapūra* 18. Trivikrama expects even Brahmā or Vidhātā,

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the creator of the picture of the universe, to excel in his highly delicate linear work. He styles it the acme of perfection of the painter's art seen in a picture in the excellence of lines *śilpasarvasvapariṇāmarekhām iva vidhātuḥ*, *Nalachampū* p. 211. When the hand is unsteady the line goes awry and so a steady hold of the brush and sure sweep on the canvas is essential for what the Vidūshaka in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* styles *ekadhāra* and *kramapariṇatarekhā* in the lines *rekhāniveśo'tra yad ekadhāraḥ* and *kramapariṇatarekhā māmsalair āṅgabhaṅgaiḥ*, *Viddhasālabhañjikā* 1. Trivikrāma, a ninth century poet, from the Deccan, mentions this feature of delicate linework even in the drawings of patterns in pearl white liquid on the floor: *atisūkshmamuktāphalarachitaraṅgarekhārājirājitājiram rājabhavanam aviśat*, *Nalachampū* p. 209. *Ekadhāra* (Fig. 118), steady flow of line is the opposite of the defect *bindurekhā* which, except in the specially chosen *binduvartanā*, where dots, sparse or crowded, determine a mode of shading, is a serious blemish. The word *māmsalair aṅgabhaṅgaiḥ* suggests a bold drawing in sharp lines full of strength, and this thus illustrates avoidance of *daurbalya* or weak line work which is very close to the other defects *bindurekhā* and *avibhaktatva* (Fig. 119). Line work which is steady, delicate and true in portraiture is *satyā rekhā*. Poets who can create sweet composition are only a few like painters who can draw the right line, says Ratnākara: *kalyāṇīm giram utsrashṭum viralā eva jānate, satyām rekhām vilikhitum chitrakarmavido yathā*, *Haravijaya* 32, 70. Praising true and noble lines composing pictures, Ruskin uses the same word 'right or faithful line' and 'false line', 'whether broad or fine does not matter, the lines are right; and the most delicate

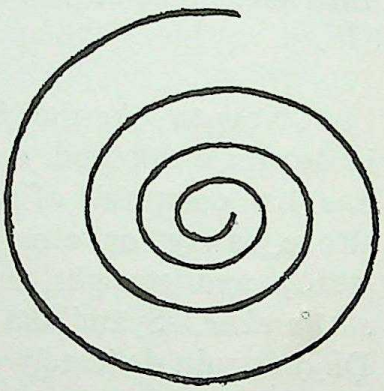

Fig. 118 *ekadhārā rekhā*, one free flow in line drawing.

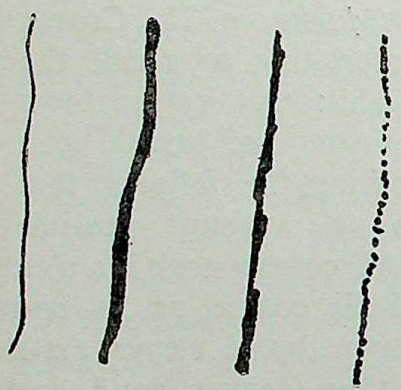

Fig. 119 Defects in line drawing, *daurbalya* weak line, *sthūlarekhātva*, coarse line, *avibhaktatā* undefined line, *bindurekhā* dotted line.

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false line is ever more to be despised, in presence of the coarsest faithful one' *Modern Painters* 4, p. 211.

In the case of the *doshas* like *bṛihadgaṇḍa* or bulging cheek, (Fig. 120) *bṛihadoshṭha* or thick lips (Fig. 121) and *bṛihannetra* or bulging eyes (Fig. 122), these characteristics are specially associated with Rākshasas who look terrifying with knit brows, large circular eyes, terrifying face: *daityās cha dānavās chaiva kartavyā bhrukuṭīmukhāḥ, vartulākshās tathā kāryā bhīmavaktrās tathaiva cha, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 42, 7-8. There is another of the *doshas* that goes against auspiciousness in pictures, *amaṅgalya*. It is *prakīrṇakeśa* in the line forbidding it *prakīṇakeśais cha sumaṅgalyair vivarjayet* 3, 43, 23. But it is not a *dosha* in the delineation of Rākshasas where this is prescribed, *utkachā rākshasāḥ kāryā vikṛitākshā vibhīshaṇāḥ* 3, 42, 15. But in cases other than this it is a *dosha*. This has to be clearly borne in mind. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* there is a description of the Rākshasīs surrounding Sītā, all with abnormal limbs, either more or less than normal and hideous. Thus it is *ekākshī* or *ekakarṇā* or *karṇaprāvaraṇā*; it is also a hideous *ajāmukhī* or *hastimukhī* or *sūkarīmukhī* or *keśakambaladhāriṇī*. These, though examples of the *dosha*, *hīnāṅga*, which embraces also *adhikāṅga* and *apratīta*, i.e. a subject with which the artist is not familiar, and naturally far from any reality, are no *dosha* in their own context. This *dosha* is only in regard to faulty painting like the elephant in Western paintings where the painter had never seen the animal but just imagined its form from hearsay. But in a context where it is required it is no defect at all. *Malinam*, impure or stained is another defect. But in painting Sītā in the Aśoka grove covered with dust, such representation is no *dosha*, as it is depicted in the manner in which it should be shown.

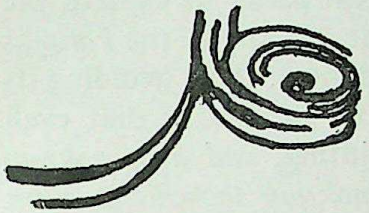

Fig. 120 *Bṛihadgaṇḍa* buiging check, a pictorial defect, *dosha*.

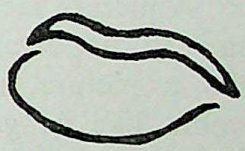

Fig. 121 *Bṛihadoshtha* thick lips, a pictorial defect, *dosha*.

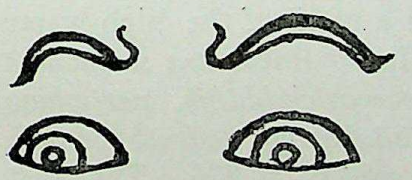

Fig. 122 *Bṛihannetra* goggle eyes, a pictorial defect, *dosha*.

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Sthānahīna is a *dosha* where the figure is either in the wrong pose or in no pose at all. An archer has to be shown in *ālīḍha* or *pratyālīḍha*. That is why Kālidāsa in picturing Raghu wielding the bow to fight Indra describes him in *ālīḍha*: *atishṭhad ālīḍhaviśesha-sōbhinā vapuḥprakarsheṇa viḍambiteśvaraḥ, Raghuvamśā* 3, 52. If he were not described so it would be *sthānahīna*, meaning devoid of proper *sthāna*. The *Vishṇudharmottara* has taken great pains to explain the importance of *sthāna* by referring the student of art to the *karaṇas* and *aṅgahāras* already described in *nāṭya* (dance), thus avoiding its repetition in the chapter on *chitra* and ends up by stating that even dance, every moment of it, is a kind of painting, *yad atra noktam tannṛittād vijñeyam vasudhādhipa, nṛittepi noktam tachchitrāt tatra yojyam narādhipa* 3, 43, 37. Even the *hastas* of dance, so very suggestive in the language of *abhinaya*, are to be utilised in *Chitra*: *karās cha ye matā nṛitte pūrvoktā nṛipasattama, ta eva chitre vijñeyā nṛittam chitram param matam* 3, 35, 6-7.

A picture lacking in emotion, *gatarasa*, is defective. *Bhāva* or *rasa* is so important in a picture that the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* styles a picture, remarkable for expression of any of the nine flavours like *śṛiṅgāra, hāsya, karuṇa*, etc., as a *bhāvachitra*. They may represent a *sthāyībhāva*, permanent mood or *sañchāribhāva*, evanescent mood like *moṭṭāyita, kuṭṭamita*, etc. *śṛiṅgārādiraso yatra darśanād eva gamyate bhāvachitram tad ākhyātam chitrakāutuka-kārakam*; where *śṛiṅgāra* and other flavours are understood at the very first glance it is called *bhāvachitra* and invites a special attraction, *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*, 3, 941. How difficult it is to properly portray emotion in a picture and how it is a mark of the high-water mark of proficiency in a painter is given in the lines: *atra suviśuddhā rekhā, saṅgatāni bhūshaṇāni, uchitakramā varṇavichchhittiḥ, parisphuṭo bhāvātiśayaḥ, dushkaram hi chitre bhāvārādhanam, tadevābhimatam atividagdhānām, Upamitibhāvaprapañchakathā* 6, p. 876. The best connoisseurs rate *bhāvārādhanā* as the highest ability in art. The same opinion is expressed by one of the greatest medieval European masters, Leonardo da Vinci in his *Practice of Painting*. 'By far the most important point in the whole theory of painting is to make the actions express the physical state of each character, e.g. desire, disdain, anger, pity and the like.' 'A good painter', he continues,

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'has two chief objects to paint man and the intention of his soul. The former is easy, the latter hard, for it must be expressed by gestures and movements of the limbs:' *Leonardo da Vinci* by George Granau, Popular Library of Art, pp. 180-182.

Vacant look, *śūnyadṛishṭi*, is another *dosha*. It has been considered in India most essential, at least in the representation of the celestials, that the eyes should be specially carefully done. The look should be neither upwards nor downwards nor aslant or squinted as it would result in different unfortunate consequences. It should not be also a scowl or sharp look or a sad gaze: *ūrdhvā dṛishṭir adhodṛishṭir tiryak teshām vivarjayet, hīnādhikā vā dīnā vā kruddhā rūkshā tathaiva cha, Vishṇudharmottara*. 3, 38, 13. This is avoided, as an upward look shortens life, the same downward causes grief, aslant it ushers poverty, a weak look hastens death, too full or too timid a gaze brings on sorrow, a sharp look destroys wealth and an angry look enhances fear: *ūrdhvā tu maraṇāyoktā śokāyādhaḥ prakīrtitā, tiryag dhanavināśāya, hīnā bhavati mṛityave, adhikā śokajananī dīnā cha nṛipasattama, rūkshā dhanakshayāya syāt kruddhā bhayavivardhinī, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 48, 14-15. *Unmīlana* or opening of the eyes of the figures at the final stage of finishing a picture is almost a special ceremony. Even now *śilpins* in India and Ceylon observe the *netronmīlana* of an image cast or sculpted or painted as a special ceremony. By painting the pupils at the final stage the painter 'opens the eyes' as it were and infuses life into it. This infusion of life is actually mentioned in the *Vishṇudharmottara* which rates very high a painting where there appears to be life and movement and where the figures seem even to breathe: *sajīva iva driśyate, saśvāsa iva yachchitram tachchitram śubhalakshaṇam* 3, 4 , 21-22. A fine brush *tūlikā* is used for this delicate touch. The bloom of youth in Pārvatī is likened by Kālidāsa to the *unmīlana* of a painting and the opening of the petals of a blooming lotus by the rays of the sun: *unmīlitam tūlikayeva chitram sūryāmśubhir bhinnam ivāravindam, babhūva tasyās chaturaśraśobhi vapur vibhaktam navayauvanena, Kumārasambhava* 1, 39. Bāṇa conveys the same idea in his line *prātas cha tad umīlitam chitram iva chandrāpīḍaśarīram avalokya, Kādambarī* p. 548. There is a graphic description of this *unmīlana* by Mayūra in his verse *prātaḥ prārambhakāle sakalam api*

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jagachchitram unmīlayantī kāntis tīkshṇatvisho 'kshṇām mudam upanayatāt tūlikevātulam vāḥ, *Sūryaśataka* 36. Ratnākara also describes the *unmīlana* process in an even more picturesque way by an entendre *sabhūmilābham śubhavartirekhayā manoramam maṇḍalakāryam askhalat, aśesham unmīlayati kshamābhṛitām vichitrarūpā nanu nītitūlikā*, *Haravijaya* 12. 30. This process was so important that it was accepted as a *nyāya* or parable by *Śāstrakāras* to illustrate a point in philosophy and it was styled *unmīlitachitranyāya*, the parable of the picture vivified, as in the line *ahantedantālakshaṇayor jñānakriyayor ādyodrekāt . unmīlitachitranyāyena vyaktāvyaktaviśvamātṛitāsvabhāvam sadāśivākhyam tatvam*, *Mahārthamañjarī*, p. 44.

A contrast of *unmīlitachitra* or *unmīlitanayana* in a picture is *śūnyadṛishṭi*, unopened eye or even ineffective vacant gaze. Ratnākara describes the paintings on the walls of the deserted palaces of enemy kings brought to a point of finish but left in that state without the final touches laid on them and allowed to fade away, and alludes to them as *ununmīlita*, since their eyes remained unopened: *yasyābhiyātibhavaneshvasamāptachitrasambhārabhittipurushā malinībhavantaḥ, unmīlanāvasaraśūnyadṛiśas samiddhām dadhyur divāniśam iva śriyam avyavasthām*, *Haravijaya* 16.65.

The *dosha chetanārahita* is also answered in this context. The *Vishṇudharmottara* expects a painting to be infused with life and that is why it says, *sajīva iva dṛiśyate saśvāsa iva yachchitram tachchitram śubhalakshaṇam*. Vīranandī describes the sorry plight of the lovelorn new-wed damsel who would not readily embrace her lover, as in her mansion the mural paintings have figures so cleverly painted by infusing life in them that they almost seem to breathe and watch their action: *nipātayantī tarale vilochane sajīvachitrāsu niveśabhittishu, navā vadhūr yatra janābhiśaṅkayā na gāḍham āliṅgati jīviteśvaram*, *Chandraprabhacharita* 1, 27. Somadeva also refers to *sajīvachitra* in his description of a painting, where the figures of the damsel and youth are so full of life, that they are just short of speech and action, though for all other purposes they are as good as alive: *alikhat sa mahādevīm yogānandam cha tam paṭe, sajīvam iva tachchitram vākcheshṭārahitam tvabhūt*, *Kathāsaritsāgara* 1, 5, p. 13, 29-30.

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There are eight main *guṇas* stated as *guṇāshṭakam* of which the first mentioned is *sthāna*. *Nāṭyasthānas* like *vaishṇava*, *maṇḍala*, *samapada*, *vaiśākha*, *pratyālīḍha* and *ālīḍha*, the various *bhauma-* and *ākāśachāris*, *śayyāsthānas*, *upaveśasthānas*, *hastas* both *samyuta* and *asamyuta* that add lustre to the stances, are not the only ones in the vast scope for *sthāna* in pictorial art. There are ever so many more pleasant postures eloquently described by poets. Kālidāsa is aware of the potentiality of pose and has described many a lovely one. One of these, a completely natural one, and not any of the well known conventional stances, is so graceful that not only has it the distinction of being described vividly by the sweetest bard of India but has found delineation in sculpture and painting over and over again as a favourite theme. Perhaps there has been no great artist or sculptor who has not handled it. The verse *darbhāṅkureṇa charaṇaḥ kshata ityakāṇḍe tanvī sthitā katichid eva padāni gatvā, āsīd vivṛittavadanā cha vimochayantī śākhāsu valkalam asaktam api drumāṇām*, *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam* 2, 12. Many a sculpture at Khajuraho, Bhuvaneśvar, Koṇarak, Modhera represent this beautiful situation. The late Raja Ravi Varma, eminently fitted for the task by his deep scholarship in Sanskrit and great mastery of the technique of painting, has a charming picture of this very situation (Fig. 123). A charming pose in repose after rapid motion is expressed in the verse *vāmam sandhistimitavalayam nyasya hastam nitambe kṛitvā śyāmāviṭapasadṛiśam srastamuktam dvitīyam, pādāṅgushṭhālulitakusume kuṭṭime pātitāksham nṛittād asyās sthitam atitarām kāntam ṛijvāyatārdham*, *Mālavikāgnimitra* 2, 6, which describes an exceedingly charming pause after dance by Mālavikā. The use of the technical term, *ṛijvāyata*, one of the important postures given in *Śilpa* texts, is noteworthy.

Pramāṇa, ideal form and proper proportions, is the next mentioned among the *guṇas*. Kshemendra, who expects encyclopaedic knowledge in great poets gives the verse *vyūḍhorasko vṛishaskandhas sālaprāmśur mahābhujaḥ, ātmakarmakshamam deham kshātro dharma ivāśṛitaḥ*, *Raghuvamśa* 1. 13 as an example of Kālidāsa's knowledge of *purushalakshaṇa*. Of the symmetrical perfection of feminine form there is no other than the verse of Kālidāsa that in such a short compass gives so much of artistic anatomy as this, 'eyes long and graceful, face beaming like the autumnal moon, hands bent down and

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shoulders drooping, breasts full and surging up, waist slim almost to be covered by a hand, heavy in the bottom, graceful toes on the feet, her body has been so fashioned as the mind of a dancer could require it to be': *dīrghāksham śaradindukānti vadanam bāhū natāvamsayoḥ samkshiptam nibiḍonnatastanam uraḥ pārśve pramṛishṭe iva, madhyaḥ pāṇimito nitambi jaghanam pādāvarālāṅgulī chhando nartayitur yathaiva manasas ślishṭam tathāsyā vapuḥ, Mālavikāgnimitra* 2, 3. Ajaṇṭā abounds in beautiful flexions, poses, anatomical details both of men, animals and birds. *Pramāṇa* is not only individual proportion in any figure but also in general and relatively in regard to other figures composing a pictorial composition. Of animal anatomy we can consider an example given by Bāṇa who describes at length the beautiful horse Indrāyudha, whose thighs are thin almost as if scraped, chest wide, face narrow and long, a sign of excellent breed, elongate neck, flanks reduced and the hind parts well developed: *utkīrnam iva jaṅghāsu, vistāritam iva urasi, ślakshṇīkṛitam iva mukhe, prasāritam iva kandharāyām, ullikhitam iva pārśvayoḥ, dviguṇīkṛitam iva jaghanabhāge, Kādambarī* p. 156. There is even more. The horses in front of the palace gates of emperor Harshavardhana are fine breeds with elongate face, short ears, long neck, powerful shoulders, curved chest, hard hoofs neatly shod with horseshoes, thin waist, broad rounded hip and long stately body: *āyatanirmāmsamukhaiḥ, anutkaṭakarṇakośaiḥ,...yūpānupūrvavakrāyatodagragrīvaiḥ, upachayaśvasatskandhasaṅdhibhiḥ, nirbhugnorassthalaiḥ, asthūlapraguṇaprasṛitair lohapīṭhakaṭhinakhuramaṇḍalaiḥ, atijavatruṭanabhayād anirmitāntrāṇīvodarāṇi vṛittāni dhārayadbhiḥ, udyaddroṇīvibhajyamānapṛithujaghanaiḥ,....āyatair api paśchātpāśabandhaprasāritaikāṅghribhir āyatatarair ivopalakshyamāṇaiḥ, Harshacharita* p. 62-63. In an interesting description of the strong and sinewy limbs of Mādhavagupta, Bāṇa shows his keen observation of human and animal form when he gives a striking comparison of the contours of limbs both of man and beast. Mādhavagupta's strength is compared to a lion's and gait to an elephant's. His forearm is likened to that of a tiger, his eyes, wide and round, are like a deer's. His nose is like the snout of a boar, an exaggeration of its prominence, but yet a forceful and striking comparison. His lusty shoulders are compared to the mighty humpy back of the buffalo: *chakshuḥ kuraṅgakair, ghoṇāvamśam varāhaih, skandhapīṭham mahishaiḥ, prakoshṭhabandham*

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vyāghraiḥ, parākramam keśaribhir, gamanam mataṅgajair, mṛigayākshapitaśeshair bhītair utkocham iva dattam darśayantam mādhavaguptam dadṛiśatuḥ, Harshacharita p. 140. As a contrast to the sturdy and hardened body of Mādhavagupta is the delicate delineation of the beautiful limbs of prince Chandrāpīḍa. His forehead is like the crescent moon, eyes long like the half closed blue lotus, lips like tender leaves, nails, palms and toes coral-red, and withal his body symmetrical and full of *lāvaṇya*, iridescence: *tathaivāyam induśakalānukāriṇaḥ kāntir lalāṭasya nīlotpaladyutihāri karṇantāyatam lochanadvayam, tādṛiśa evabhinavakisalayachchhavir adharaḥ, tathaiva chedam vidrumalohitanakhāṅgulitalam pāṇipādam, tadevedam avimalitāsahajalāvaṇyasaukumāryānām saushṭhavam aṅgānām, Kādambarī* p. 540.

Bhūlambha is the next *guṇa* in pictures. This is so spelt in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. Ratnākara gives it as *bhūmilābha* in his line *sabhūmilābham śubhavartirekhayā, Haravijaya* 12, 30. This is the providing of appropriate background in a picture which goes a great way in enhancing the interest in the figures themselves arranged in their proper context as required by the theme chosen. An unfinished picture of Śakuntalā, described by Dushyanta as yet to be provided with appropriate background on the canvas, is an apt example. "To be painted yet are the flowing stream Mālinī with a pair of swans nestling on her sand dunes, and close by, the slopes of the sacred Himālaya, straggling with the deer resting on them, a tree in the foreground with hermit-garments suspended from its boughs, with a doe beneath it rubbing her eye on the buck's horn: *kāryā saikatalīnahamsamithunā srotovahā mālinī pādās tām abhito nishaṇṇahariṇā gaurīguroḥ pāvanāḥ, śākhālambitavalkalasya cha taror nirmātum ichchhāmyadhaḥ śṛiṅge kṛishṇamṛigasya vāmanayanam kaṇḍūyamānām mṛigīm, Abhijñānaśākuntalam* 6, 17.

Mādhurya or honey sweet quality in a picture is born out of delicacy in treatment and excellence in portraying *rasa*. It has been already stated that infusing of *bhāva* is rather difficult *dushkaram hi chitre bhavārādhanam*. It is this infusing of *sātvika* and other *bhāvas* that creates a feeling of the picture completely smothering the spectator by an infatuation born of its excellence and smooth softness: *ayam api sukumaras sātvikānām niveśas chaturamasṛiṇamu-*

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gdham bhāvam āvishkaroti, Viddasālabhañjikā 1. *Ramya* is the same *as mādhurya* in pictures as Kālidāsa who would not use the same word twice has chasen *ramya* for sweet form and *madhura* for sweet melody: *ramyāṇi vīkshya madhurāmścha niśamya śabdān paryutsuko bhavati yat sukhitopi jantuḥ* even the happiest is moved by seeing things sweet in form and hearing sweet soft strains. The description of *rūpa* as *mugdha* in this is so appropriate that Bhoja exclaims 'how ravishing is this form' *aho mugdham rūpam lekhyasya, Śṛiṅgārapṛakāśa,* Vol. 1, p. 394 Madras Mss.

Vibhaktatā is definition of the contours of form, the excellence of which is another *guṇa.* In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Vālmīki describes Rāma as *samas samavibhaktāṅgaḥ.* Kālidāsa in describing the extraordinary beauty of Pārvatī specially emphasises *vibhaktatā* by showing how her limbs so symmetrically moulded by the Creator were at the same time clearly defined so that there could be no vague idea of any contour of her shapely form: *babhūva tasyās chaturasraśobhi vapur vibhaktam navayauvanena, Kumārasambhava* 1.32.

Sādṛiśya has reference to how faithful a picture is to the original. Likeness is such an important factor, particularly in a portrait, that Kālidāsa styles it *sādṛiśyapratikṛiti* as in the reference to the portrait of Indumatī that to an extent assuaged the grief of Aja: *sādṛiśyapratikṛitidarśanaiḥ priyāyāḥ, Raghuvamśa 8,* 92. The element of veracity in portrayal is evident in the words of Sānumatī on seeing the figure of Śakuntalā in the picture. "How clever is the brush work of the king; I feel that my friend is here before me: "*aho rājarsher vartikānipuṇatā! jāne me sakhī agrato vartata iti, Abhijñānaśākuntalaṁ* 6. Damayantī delights in faithful portraits of herself and Nala painted by the *chitrakara* on the walls of her palace (Fig. 124, 125): *priyam priyām cha trijagajjayiśrìyau likhādhilīlāgṛihabhittikāvapi, iti sma sā kāruvareṇa lekhitam nalasya cha svasya cha sakhyam īkshate, Naishadhīyacharita* 1.38. Portraits were a great favourite and were known as *viddhachitras.* The *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* defines this type of picture as looking faithful to the original like the reflection in a mirror: *sādṛiśyam dṛiśyate yat tu darpaṇe pratibiṁbavāt, tachchitram viddham ityāhur viśvakarmādayo budhāḥ. Viddhasālabhañjikā* is a drama primarily centred on a portrait of a beautiful princess. The word is

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used in several other passages from literature, as in *dvīpāntararājakanyakābhir anudivasam apahāryamāṇachitraphalakāropitaviddharūpaḥ, Tilakamañjarī* p. 133. *Sādṛiśya* or perfect semblance as in a mirror in a pictorial representation intended as a portrait is mentioned by Hemachandra: *te viśvakarmaṇo mūrtyantarāṇīvātikauśalāt, tam ālikham yathāvastham ādarśapratibimbavat, Sthavirāvalīcharita* 1, 184. It is also a semblance like that of the moon reflected in still waters as her companions reassure a princess on the faithful likeness of the prince painted in a picture: *nṛipasya chitre madhureyam ākṛitir na bhidyate chandramaso yathāmbhasi, sakhījanas tām iti narmapeśalais śanais trapānarmamukhīm abhāshata, Navasāhasāṅkacharita* 7. Portraits of Agnimitra, several, in different situations portrayed are hung on all sides of the large hall of the *samudragṛiha: sakhi! praṇama bhartāram, yaḥ pārśvataḥ pṛishṭhataḥ dṛiśyate, Mālavikāgnimitra.* 4. It is quite a natural thing for there existing a number of paintings of an emperor like Agnimitra. As Philip IV could have so many portraits of his painted by Velasquez there is nothing so impossible in a multiplicity of portraits of Agnimitra. Even in a nearer distance in time, Tirumala Nāyak of Madurai has left so many portraits of his in stone, metal and ivory. A little earlier was the magnificient metal portrait group of emperor Kṛishṇadeva Rāya and his queens at Tirupati. In a family group painted in the palace, one immediately recognises queen Irāvtī as one lovingly viewed by the royal husband: *sakhi! kaishā īshatparivṛittavadanā bhartrā snigdhayā dṛishṭya nidhyāyate, Mālavikāgnimitra* 4.

The element of *sādṛiśya* was so great in the pictures and sculptures that they misled the spectator into taking them for the originals themselves. The doves carved in stone on the roofline of mansions in Dvārakā are so lifelike (Fig. 126) that the cat approaches them stealthily and the motionless figure of the animal makes the people in the street mistake it also for a carving like those of the birds: *chikramsayā kṛitrimapatripānkteḥ kapotapālīshu niketanānām, mārjāram apyāyataniśchalāṅgam yasyām janaḥ kṛitrimam eva mene, Śiśupālavadha 3, 51.*

Another example is the lifelike representation of elephants in a lotus pool, dallying with their feminine troupe, painted on the

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walls of the bathing houses on the banks of the Sarayū in deserted Ayodhyā, on which lions spring fiercely to kill them, only to discover that they are only painted figures and nothing more: *chitradvipāḥ padmavanāvatīrṇāḥ kareṇubhir dattamṛiṇālabhaṅgāḥ, nakhāṅkuśāghātavibhinnakumbhās samrabdhasiṁhaprahṛitam vahanti, Raghuvaṁśa* 16, 16.

The pathetic situation described in the verse quoted by Mammaṭa, where the pet parrot is described as complaining to the king and the others of the indifference shown to it by the princess and others is but another example of this highly realistic treatment in painting that makes even beasts and birds mistake them for live ones. 'Oh Your Majesty! The princess does not teach me to repeat words. Even the queens are silent. Oh! hunch-back! do feed me. The princely counsellors have not yet dined', thus, oh! my lord! the pet parrot released from its cage by the wayfarers addresses individually the figures in the murals of the deserted balconies of the palaces of your royal foes: *rājan rājasutā na pāṭhayati mām devyo' pi tūshṇīm sthitāḥ kubje bhojaya mām kumārasachivair adyāpi no bhujyate, itṭham nātha śukas tavāribhavane mukto'dhvagaiḥ pañjarāt chitrasthān avalokya śūnyavalabhāvekaikam ābhāshate, Kāvyaprakāśa* 10·

As Sītā amuses herself looking at the long series of pictures on the walls of the *chitraśālā* of the royal palace at Ayodhyā, she is so impressed by the realistic treatment that she is almost transported again into the Daṇḍakā forest as it were, and is so frightened as she approaches the Śūrpaṇakhā episode, that Rāma has to remind her of the fact that she is looking only at pictures. So natural is the treatment by the painter:

Lakshmaṇaḥ — esha pañchavaṭyām śūrpaṇakhāvivādaḥ.

Sītā — hā! āryaputra! etāvat te darśanam.

Rāmaḥ — ayi viyogatraste, chitram etat.

Sītā — yathā tathā bhavatu, durjano'sukham utpādayati

Rāmaḥ — vartamāna iva me anasthānavṛjittāntaḥ pratibhāti, Uttararāmacharita 1.

This *śādṛiśya* is a deep study and assimilation of what a painter or sculptor observes in nature and not imitation of the work of

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another craftsman however good and interesting, what Śūdraka says in his remark 'the craftsman sees a clever production in art and cleverly imitates it; perfect semblance is considered the highest dexterity: *dṛishṭvā kriyām anukaroti hi śilpavargaḥ, sādṛiśyam eva kṛitahastatayā vadanti, Mṛichchhakaṭika* 10, 34. But this is more in the field of craftsmanship. In the range of great classical art, the painters and sculptors of the best period of art in India freely gave of their own masterly creations, each masterpiece creating a pang in us that the master who fashioned it has remained so silent about himself, that we know not generally even his name, but just only admire his creation. In our land where *achumbitārthapratipatti* or 'handling the unkissed flower' is the ideal, there cannot be a different dictum in the realm of art. If there was *sādṛiśya* or imitation, it was an imitation of nature which is amply supported by the techniques adopted for perfection in line, shading and so forth. Thus the ancient Indian painter was not a grandchild of nature but a sturdy child. Archdeacon Fisher in one of his letters that has not been printed says "I have just met with the following observation in Leonardo da Vinci, 'one painter ought never to imitate the manner of any other, because in that case he cannot be the child of nature, but the grandchild'...Constable sometimes calls imitators 'Poachers in other men's grounds'." And to justify this conviction there is the exquisite carving at Mahābalipuram of a charmingly realistic milking group (Fig. 127), the very striking beauty and skill in the execution of which has compelled connoisseurs to draw attention to it in almost every book on Indian art. It reminds one of the powerful word-picture of Mayūra of the cow and calf at milktime in the verse *āhatyāhatya mūrdhnā drutam anupibataḥ prasnutam mātur ūdhaḥ kiñchit kuñchaikajānor anavaratachalachchārupuchchhasya dhenuḥ, uttīrṇam tarṇakasya priyatanayatayā dattahuṅkāramudrā visramsikshīradhārālavaśabalamukhasyāṅgam ātṛipti leḍhi, Poems of Mayūra* by Quackenbos p. 235.

Kshayavṛiddhi literally means 'decrease and increase'. The principles of foreshortening and perspective are connoted by the term. *Kshayavṛiddhi* explained in the *Vishṇudharmottara* is difference in viewpoints of a pose. What a full front view reveals cannot be completely seen in a three quarter view. A part of it would be hidden

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from sight. Similarly another part hidden from sight would reveal itself. But *kshayavṛiddhi* in a larger sense can be applied to other things as well and may be taken to mean much of what linear perspective connotes. That the painter and sculptor were thoroughly acquainted with the principles of *kshayavṛiddhi* is easily seen in numerous examples all over the land. The further eye in the 14th-15th century Western Indian Jain manuscript illustrations is due to degeneracy in this skill that was at its highest in the classical periods, i.e. early, Gupta-Vākāṭaka, early medieval and the earlier phase of late medieval. A verse of Kālidāsa giving a striking aerial picture of distant, receding, diminishing coastline darkened by groves of palmyra and Tamāla trees, and another describing emerging forest-covered lands from the sea disappearing in the distance, is a clear indication of a perfect knowledge of linear perspective: *dūrād ayaschakranibhāsya tanvī tamālatālīvanarājilīlā, ābhāti velā lavaṇāmburāśer dhārānibaddheva kalaṅkarekhā; eshā vidūrībhavatas samudrāt sakānanā nishpatatīva bhūmīḥ, Raghuvaṁśa* 13, 15 and 18. Another vivid picture of linear perspective is the vision of the surroundings from a very fast-moving vehicle, a speck at a distance appearing ever so large as it quickly approaches, separated ones appearing to merge as one, and the really curved ones assuming a straight contour as it were to mislead vision, there is nothing that is so far away as there is none too close, so fast is the motion: *yad āloke sūkshmam vrajati sahasā tad vipulatām, yad antar vichchhinnam bhavati kṛitasandhānam iva tat, prakṛityā yad vakram tad api samarekham nayanayor na me dūre kiñchit kshaṇam api na pārśve rathajavāt, Abhijñānaśākuntalam* 1, 9. Kālidāsa is not only a great poet but probably was himself an artist, picturing as he does such intricate artistic observations in nature. Not only do the two verses quoted above reveal this fact but this yet another shows his study of the most intricate composition of the body of an animal as it draws its hind quarters into the forepart as it were as it runs looking back again and again, its neck curved gracefully as it tries to run at top speed to escape pursuit, almost wholly in the sky and scarcely touching the earth: *grīvābhaṅgābhirāmam muhur anupatati syandane baddhadṛishṭiḥ paśchārdhena pravishṭas śarapatanabhayād bhūyasā pūrvakāyam, darbhair ardhāvalīḍhais śramavivṛitamukhabhramśibhiḥ kīrṇavartmā paśyodagraplutatvād viyati bahutaram stokam*

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urvyām prayāti, *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* 1, 7.

In talking of the merits of a painting, the *Vishṇudharmottara* says that a picture where figures appear almost alive and even breathe is both excellent and auspicious, *sajīva iva dṛisyate saśvāsa iva yachchitram tachchitram śubhalakshaṇam*. There has been great stress laid on the auspiciousness of pictures painted, and they were known as *maṅgalyālekhyas*. In fact those themes that were not auspicious were avoided for domestic use and were forbidden in residential buildings. Bāṇa and other poets have clearly stressed that only *maṅgalyālekhyas* were to be painted in homes: *pratyagralikhitamaṅgalyālekhyojjvalitabhittibhāgamanohāriṇi*, *Kādambarī*, p. 136. *chaturachitrakarachakravālalikhyamānamaṅgalyālekhyam*, *Harshacharita* p. 142. The *Vishṇudharmottara* enumerates the benefits that accrue from such pictures used in households. Paintings relating to death, disease and bloodshed in battle were disallowed. The conception of *maṅgala* and *kalyāṇa* has been a dominant factor in India and it also accounts for the absence of tragedies in Sanskrit literature. Still it cannot be denied that the *Mahābhārata* is a great tragedy and a realisation of the ephemeral nature of wealth and glory and final emancipation, *moksha*, as the one summum bonum: *satyam śāntasyaiva rasasyāṅgitvam mahābhārate mokshasya cha sarvapurushārthebhyaḥ prādhānyam ityetan na svaśabdābhidheyatvenānukramaṇyām darśitam, darśitam tu vyaṅgyatvena bhagavān vāsudevas cha kīrtyate'tra sanātanaḥ ityasmin vākye*, *Dhvanyālka* 4, 5.

As there are *alaṅkāras* in literature there are *bhūshās* in art that enhance the beauty of the painting or sculpture. Excellence of this *bhūshā* factor is stressed after enumerating them. Line, shading, decorative design and colour are the *bhūshās* in a painting: *rekhā cha vartanā chaiva bhūshaṇam varṇam eva cha, vijñeyam manujaśreshṭha chitrakarmasu bhūshaṇam*, *Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 41, 10. Each factor in itself is important. Yet there are schools of connoisseurs that place one or the other of the first two as the most important. Feminine taste prefers ornamentation over the rest; but the general taste of the majority, less initiated in the principles of aesthetic appreciation, prefers rich colour in a picture, and accordingly considers this as everything: *rekhām praśamsantyāchāryāḥ vartanām cha*

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vichakshaṇāḥ, striyo bhūshaṇam ichchhanti varṇāḍhyam itare janāḥ 3, 41, 11. Here a difference has been made between *āchāryas* and *vichakshaṇas*. The former are professional masters who are adepts in the practice of art, who can draw and sculpt. The dexterity in sketching and preparing a good drawing enables the masters to judge the capacity of the artist in his field, as one who has no great draughtsmanship cannot produce a worthwhile picture. The outline goes a long way in revealing the importance of the artist and his work. The *vichakshaṇas* are connoisseurs who know the theory so well and by long experience the nuances of the practice of art as well. These take a greater delight in the creation of the illusion of depth, modelling and the third dimension on a flat surface where it does not exist.

Vāmana lays great store on good linear work in a picture and feels that a literary composition rests fundamentally on the charm of the *rītīs* or styles as a picture on properly drawn lines: *etāsu tisṛishu rekhāsviva chitram kāvyam pratishṭhitam iti, Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛitti* 1, 2, 13. This is further elaborated by him by mentioning *Chitrapaṇḍitas*, adepts in painting, as capable of almost chiselling out lines with precision, and compares poets capable of such chiselled composition revealing a rare quality with such masters in art: *yathā hi chhidyate rekhā chaturam chitrapaṇḍitaiḥ, tathaiva vāg api prājñais samastaguṇagumphitā, Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛitti* 3, 1, 25. To understand this *rekhāchchheda* we have only to read the lines of Ruskin "Give Titian a blunt pen and still Titian's line will be a noble one: a tyro with a pen well mended may draw more neatly; but his lines ought to be discerned from Titian's if we understand drawing" *Modern Painters* 4, p. 211.

The Indian painter was an adept in drawing. The lines were steady and even, *rekhāniveśo' tra yad ekadhāraḥ*. Broken line work offended the eye while continuous free flow of line was soothing. Feminine artists excelled in this, *idam cha paurandhram avaimi karma rekhāniveśotra yad ekadhāraḥ*. It is evident from this and from the extant masterpieces of painting that the lines composing a picture were done in as laconic a manner as *sūtrakāras* like Pāṇini who delighted in economy of even a single *mātrā* as the joy of a son born. The artists and art critics appreciated the best effect in a picture captured by the minimum of lines composing the

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figure. The *Vidūshaka* in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* remarks that the figure in the painting drawn in unswerving continuous free flow of line with the minimum of drawing but with the dimensions of the limbs effectively projected looks wonderfully complete. He also adds that there is such delicacy in the portrayal of emotion that it reveals a rare bashful feminine flavour: *kramapariṇatarekhā māmsalair aṅgabhaṅgair laghur api likhiteyam dṛiśyate pūrṇamūrtih, ayam api sukumāras sāttvikānām niveśas chaturamasṛiṇamugdham bhāvam āvishkaroti, Viddhasālabhañjikā* 1. When the hand of an artist is not steady and line drawn is uneven, bumpy and far from a free and continuous flow of line, *kramapariṇata*, it creates a *dosha* or defect, except where wavy line is specially required and prescribed as for instance *taraṅgarekhā* in a design mentioned by Trivikrama, *atisūkshmamuktāphalarachitataraṅgarekhārājirājitājiram rājabhavanam āviveśa, Nalachampū* p. 209.

The *Vishṇudharmottara* elsewhere has a gradation of paintings as excellent, middling and inferior. According to this a picture purely composed of lines and completely devoid of shading, i.e., light and shade is styled *madhyama*, though Rājaśekhara rightly claims even modelling suggested by clever manipulation of thin and thick lines in suggestive curvatures almost drawing out as it were depth and their dimension, *kramapariṇatarekhā* and *māmsalair aṅgabhaṅgaiḥ*. The picture with excellent but bare line work is called *śushka* (Fig. 115, 124), that which is with excellent modelling produced is *ārdra* (Fig. 13, 62, 79) and the inferior type that is neither simple like *śushka* nor highly finished like *ārdra* but is an admixture of both with its definition jeopardized is *śushkārdra* (Fig. 141) and is the least attractive: *śushkam vartanayā yat tu chitram tan madhyamam smṛitam, śushkārdram adhamam proktam chārdram eva tathottamam, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 42, 82.

The *bhūshaṇa* valued by connoisseurs is *vartanā* or the three types of shading that give depth to the figures in a picture with only a flat surface. *Vartanā* gives both *chhāyā* and *aujjvalya*. *Vartanachchhāyā* is the beauty or lustre of the body defined, drawn out and well delineated in a picture by the process of light and shade. In *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* (vol-c p. 15 of Madras Oriental Mss. Library

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manuscript) there is the Prākṛit verse *aṇṇam lahauttaṇaam aṇṇachchia anga vaḍḍhanachchhāyā sāmā sāmāṇṇa va āpaissa rehāchchihaṇa hoi*, and the commentary on it runs *atra rekhāśabdena chitrālekhyam lakshyate*. Hemachandra gives also a Sanskrit version of this verse in his *Kavyānuśāsana* (p. 265, Kāvyamālā edn.) as an illustration of *atiśayokti* (*chhāyā*) *anyat saukumāryam anyaiva kāpi vartana-chhāyā, syāmā śāmānyaprajāpateḥ rekhaiva na bhavati*. This verse is also given in the *Vakroktijīvita*, p. 62.

Specific highlighting of modelling in pictures is well known and mentioned in literature as *ujjvala* and *śyāmalā* for heights and depths. In the process of colouring, the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* describes using different colours or even a single colour by modulation for light and shade to indicate uneven surface: *pūrayed varṇataḥ paśchāt tatta-drūpochitam yathā, ujjvalam pronnate deśe śyāmālam nimnadeśataḥ, ekavarṇe'pi tam kuryāt tāratamyaviśeshataḥ*. It has been pointed out elsewhere that Kshemendra quotes from the *Mahābhārata* a verse *atathyānyapi tathyāni darśayanti vichakshaṇāḥ same nimnonnatānīva chitrakarmavido janāḥ* in his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*. Bhoja has also a verse in his *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* where the delineation of *nimnonnata* is explained *yatra nimnonnatam chitre svarūpam parvatādibhiḥ, na tatra pratighātādi kāryam tadvat pravartate* (chapter 9 of Madras Oriental Mss. Library manuscript). Modelling achieved by light and shade in a picture is alluded to by Kālidāsa in the words of Dushyanta, 'my eyes seem to tumble up and down on the depths and heights in the picture', *skhalatīva me dṛishṭir nimn onnateshu*, *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* 6. Strong contrast of light and shade on uneven surface by the play of sunlight and other bright light brought out by colouring is alluded by Dhanapāla, *rājanītir iva yathochitam avasthāpitavarṇasamudāyā dinak-araprabheva prakāśitavyaktanimnonnatavibhāgā chakravartikanyakā*, *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 135.

Bhūshaṇa, enumerated among the four *bhūshaṇas* in a painting, signifies decorative element and, though not by itself alone, along with the other three, signifies what almost corresponds to *alaṅkāra* or figures of speech in literature. This corresponds to the *āhārya* element in *nāṭya*. Dress and apparel, masks, ornamentation, colour make up and other such accessories in dance, appropriately provided, enhance the effect of dance, song and musical orchestra.

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In the sphere of art a whole range of ornament and decorative design appropriately chosen and delineated enhance the value of the picture. This itself should be so very suggestive and clearly reveal the idea in the picture itself. For instance a *dhīralalita* should be dressed in a pleasingly delicate fashion; a *dhiroddhata* a little more pronounced but not too loud, while an *uddhata* should have a more garish apparel and adornment. The *pratināyaka* should be in rather elaborate make up. Every figure should be so managed according to its relevance and propriety in regard to time, place and function: *dhiroddhatānam veśas syān na chātyarthasamulbaṇaḥ, uddhatas choddhatānām syād rājñām lalita ishyate, pratināyakaveśas tu kartavyas cha tathoddhataḥ, anyeshām sadṛiśo veśo deśakarmāśrayo bhavet, Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 20, 16-17. Appropriate dress and situation suggest the region or pleasure of the season itself. The poet remarks that the hot season approached as it were to instruct the beloved ones in appropriate dress, the upper garment interwoven with gems, garlands pendant on sandal-smeared pale breasts and silk garments so fine as to be blown away by the merest breath: *athāsya ratnagrathitottarīyam ekāntapāṇḍustanalambihāram, niśśvāsahāryamśukam ājagāma gharmaḥ priyā veśam ivo'padeshṭum, Raghuvamśa* 16, 43. The *veśa* and *bhūshā* of Sītā in the Aśoka grove as described by Vālmīki is a mine of information on this aspect of *bhūshaṇa* in art. The propriety of loading a *vāsakasajjikā* with jewels and dress is just its opposite in the case of a *proshitabhartṛikā* or an *antarvatnī*. While one is flushed with wine that trains the brow in cocquettish grace *madhu nayanayor vibhramādeśadaksham* (*Meghadūta* 2, 12), the other by refraining from it almost forgets cocquettish glances *pratyādeśād api cha madhuno vismṛitabhrūvilāsām* (*Meghadūta* 2, 35). While the pregnant damsel, frail in form, has minimum of ornamentation, *śarīrasādād asamagrabhūshaṇā* (*Raghuvamśa* 3, 2), the bride in rich wedding apparel has her garment decorated with the auspicious swan fleet design, *vadhūdukūlam kalahamsalakshaṇam* (*Kumārasambhava* 5, 67).

Apart from this, appropriate design introduced in pictures enhances their charm. This element of design has been wonderfully elaborated in drawings and paintings. The meandering creeper *kalpavallī* is composed of various limbs like *latā* or *śākhā* that meanders in lovely *tribhaṅgas* or tribends with *kaṇṭaka* or thorns, *patra* or

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leaves and *kalikās* or buds, as given in an interesting description by Trivikrama: *chitravidyām ivānekakaṇṭakapatralatāsthānakavishamām ṛijjvāgatatāpasām cha, Nalachampū*, p. 164.

The element of *bhūshaṇa* in a *chitra* is described as the favourite of women: *striyo bhūshaṇam ichchhanti*. Dushyanta can very well remark 'this damsel is most beautiful even in bark dress; what is it that would not beautify natural lovely form': *iyam adhikamanojñā valkalenāpi tanvī, kim iva hi madhurāṇām maṇḍanam nākṛitīnām, Abhijñānaśākuntalam* 1, 17. But women are so inordinately fond of embellishment that, though themselves ignorant of even the proper arrangement of jewels on the body, the companions of Śakuntalā succeed in dressing her up meticulously following what they had observed in pictures: *aye! anupayuktabhūshaṇo'pi janas chitrakarma-parichayenāṅgeshu ta ābharaṇaviniyogam karoti, Abhijñānaśākuntalam* 4.

Varṇa is the last of the four *bhūshaṇas* in a picture. This is believed to captivate the hearts of one and all, even those who have no special ability to judge pictures. These are the general laity, *itare janāḥ*, as given in the line *varṇāḍhyam itare janāḥ*. Śyāmilaka gives an instance of how several defects in a picture are covered up by loading it with colour, the attraction of which is so potent with most of the spectators, who are not so discerning in their taste, that it is accepted as a favourite. The theme Lakshmī, the goddess of Prosperity and auspiciousness, is itself so popular that the colour scheme drowning the aesthetic deficiency is added strength for acceptance. Inordinately passionate among the love-lorn hug even a plain-looking damsel or even one devoid of beauty if she were fair and well-dressed like Lakshmī portrayed in a picture with a loud colour scheme drowning the defects: *varṇānurūpojjvalachāruveshām lakshmīm ivālekhyapaṭe niviśhṭām, sāpahnavām kāmishu kāmavanto'rūpām virūpām api kāmayante, Pādatāḍitaka*, p. 31. The *Vishṇudharmottara* does not belittle colouring by this remark. On the other hand it is a warning against misuse of colours and, at the same time, a suggestion of the potency of colour in a picture judiciously used.

As in literature, so in art, the *rasa*, emotion or flavour, is an exceedingly important factor. The *sthāyībhāva* or the abiding flavour

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is built up by contributory factors like *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas*, *sāttvika-bhāvas* and *vyabhichāribhāvas*, all of them fleeting and evanescent but helping in the gradual realization of that steady sweet taste or experience: *vibhāvair anubhāvais cha sāttvikair vyabhichāribhiḥ, ānīyamānas svādutvam sthāyībhāvo rasas smṛitaḥ*. The *sthāyībhāva*, the abiding factor, helps to recognise the flavour or sentiment in the case of one or the other of the nine *rasas* like *śṛiṅgāra, hāsya, karuṇa, vīra, raudra, bhayānaka, bībhatsa, adbhuta* and *śānta*. The *sthāyībhāvas* in the case of these nine *rasas* are respectively *rati, hāsa śoka, utsāha, krodha, bhaya, jugupsā, vismaya* and *śama. Vibhāvas* are of two categories *ālambanavibhāva, uddīpanavibhāva*. The main course of the *rasa* in the *sthāyībhāva* is like the ocean in which the other fleeting *vyabhichāri* and other *bhāvas* appear and disappear like waves. In the case of *śṛiṅgāra*, the *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* would form the *ālambanavibhāva* as the *rasa* itself centres around one or the other. The *uddīpanavibhāva* which inflames love are moonlight, spring, the perfume of flowers, vernal beauty, cool southern breeze, close recalling factors like the glances of the doe, the lovely gait of the swan, the beauty of the lotus, the flamboyant picturesqe peacock tail and so on. *Anubhāvas* suggest the effects of the emotion like fleeting glances, perspiration etc. *Śātvika bhāvas* like *stambha, romāñcha, vepathu, vaivarṇya, aśru, svarabhaṅga*, inaction, horripulation, tremor, pallour, tears, modulation of the voice, apprehend the effect of the *sthāyībhāva. Vyabhichāri bhāvas*, fleeting factors, as their name suggests, are momentary reactions like *nirveda, glāni, śaṅkā, asūyā*, despair, fatigue, doubt, jealousy etc. These appear and reappear and disappear. All these *vibhāvas, anubhāvas*, etc. have their appropriate representations in art as in literature and dance portrayed. These create a clear picture of the *rasas* depicted in a picture.

The *Vishṇudarmottara* enumerates nine *rasas* in *chitra* as in *kāvya* and *nāṭya*: *śṛiṅgārahāsyakaruṇavīraraudrabhayānakāḥ, bībhatsādbhutaśāntās cha nava chitre rasās smṛitāḥ* 3, 43 1. While Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* recognises only eight *rasas*, the *Vishṇudharmottara* gives one more, *śānta*, and claims for it a special independent status, *śānto rasas svatantro'tra pṛithag eva vyavasthitaḥ* 3, 30, 2. There is also a division of the primary and secondary *rasas*, four derived from the other four. *Hāsya* emanates from *śṛiṅgāra, karuṇa* from *raudra, adbhuta*

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from *vīra* and *bhayānaka* from *bībhatsa*: *śṛiṅgāraāddhi bhaveddhāsyo raudrāchcha karuṃodayaḥ, vīrāchchādbhutotpattir bībhatsāchcha bhayānakaḥ* 3, 30 2-3. There are also appropriate colours suggestive of each *rasa* and associated therewith. *Śānta* is given a special place again and described as natural in colour and not distinctively red, white, dark etc. *Śṛiṅgāra is* dark, *raudra* red, *hāsya* white, *bhayānaka* black, *vīra* pinkish white, *adbhuta* yellow, *karuṃa* grey (lit. pigeon-like), and *bībhatsa* blue. Just as in *nāṭya* these colours have to be carefully used in the *āhārya*, so also in *chitra* the colours have to be judiciously laid to enable the colour tone and its modulation in the picture to suggest its *rasa*. Even the movements as should indicate each *rasa*, the stride of the warrior, the speedy pursuit of a hunter, the hesitating frightened one, the jumps of the astonished, the slow gait of the peaceful hermit, the normal in the sad or expectant lover and so forth, are treated elaborately in chapter 29 of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. Very appropriately there are also deities specially associated with each of the *rasas*. This association and the colours already mentioned have a special suggestive purpose for each *rasa*, which shows that a very high store was placed on *rasa* as a determining factor in the aesthetic and intellectual experience of every picture. The humorous Pramathaganas, whose very sight, like the form and the stick of the *vidūshaka*, excites laughter, are the deity for *hāsya*. Śṛiṅgāra is presided over by Vishṇu, *raudra* by Rudra, *karuṃa* by Yama, *bībhatsa* by Mahākāla, *bhayānaka* by Kāla, *Vīra* by Indra, *adbhuta* by Brahmā and *śānta* by Paramātmā: *hāsyaḥ pramathadevas tu śṛiṅgāro vishṇudaivataḥ, bībhatsasya mahākālaḥ kāladevo bhayānakaḥ, vīro mahendradevas syād adbhuto brahmadaivataḥ, śāntasya devo vijñeyaḥ paraḥ purusha eva cha*, 3, 30, 6-8.

As *śānta* emanates from renunciation, it should be portrayed by universal love for all beings, meditation, elimination of hate, pleasure and pain and equanimity towards all. As an example in pictorial art Dakshiṇāmūrti, Naranārāyaṇa and Buddha may be cited. The deer and the snake, the inviting and the abhorred, are both welcome just as the holy stream and the unholy skull on the locks of Śiva. Buddha's serene face, eyes closed in meditation and the hand of Dakshiṇāmūrti in *vitarka*, the beaming face, proclaim peace, *śānta*.

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hāsya arises out of funny expression, funny countenance and apparel, whether the laughter arises in oneself or is emanated in another. This laughter is of three varieties delicate, middling and coarse. The first with the cheeks slightly puffed, lips pouted, but with the teeth yet unnoticed, eyes sparkling, the second with the teeth visible and the third bringing tears to the eyes and a sound of the chuckle. We may recall that Rāma as an *uttama* character is described as *smitabhāshī*. Regarding the last, the horse laughter with a loud noise and tears welling up in the eyes, there is the verse quoted by Mammaṭa describing the joke and laughter of the hunters and their wives, on seeing the murals in a deserted palace, where they criticise the figure dressed with pearl necklaces instead of *guñjā* beads as is their own wont and to which alone they are accustomed: *bāshpārdrīkṛitalochanais sphuṭaravam dārais samam hasyate*, *Śriṅgāratilaka*. p. 145. A striking example of *hāsya rasa* in art is the first act of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* in a first century Kushāṇ sculpture (Fig. 73) illustrating the comical fool of a Śakāra pursuing Vasantasenā in the darkness of approaching night. When he hears her calling her attendant women for her aid, Śakāra is frightened that there are men about for her protection and expresses his fear to the Viṭa, who assuages it by saying it is only her maids she was calling. Śakāra at once is mirthful and comes out boldly with his ridiculous self praise of his valour in his ability to kill any number of women.

> Śakāra — Oh dear dear! A man! a man: *bhāve bhāve manushyo manushyaḥ*
> Viṭa — Fool! She calls her attendants *mūrkha*! *parijanam anveshayati*
> Śakāra — Is it women? *kim striyam*
> Vita — yes *adhakim*
> Śakāra — (emerging from behind Viṭa) I can kill a hundred women. I am indeed a hero... *strīṇām śatam mārayāmi śūroham*.

The sculpture shows the comical-looking Śakāra hiding behind the Viṭa and whimpering, and a recollection of the context cannot but provoke a smile.

Another example is a sculptural narration (Fig. 128) of a *Jātaka* from Bhārhut, the *Secha Jātaka*, where the old and wise monkey is

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shown gravely seated, pulling out by their roots the flower plants in a garden, so tenderly looked after by the gardener who left them for a while in the care of the monkeys who were so friendly to him. The monkeys were true to their promise to the gardener, and the most enthusiastic being the wise one, pulled out the plants to examine their roots, so that they could be watered according to the need of each. 'We just should not waste water, at the same time the plants should be adequately fed' felt the wise one, This also provokes a smile.

The lamentation of Śūrpaṇakhā, hysterically narrating her discomfiture at the hands of Lakshmaṇa as chastisement for her overtures towards Rāma at Pañchavaṭī, with her hair dishevelled, hands thrown up in anger, and mouth twitching in her agitated state, is another example of a funny situation exciting laughter.

The painting illustrating the frantic efforts of the demons to rouse Kumbhakarṇa, almost a visual presentation of the sly remark of Kālidāsa that he, the slumber-loving one, was forcibly aroused by his brother, though graciously sent into eternal sleep as it were by Rāma's arrow: *akāle bodhito bhrātrā priyasvapno vṛithā bhavān, rāmeshubhir itīvāsau dīrghanidrām praveśitaḥ, Raghuvamśa* 12, 81, is a smile-evoking situation (Fig. 138).

It is the compassion of Vālmīki, who felt so intensely when a hunter killed a krauñcha bird from a pair, causing intense grief to the mate as it screeched and hovered over the corpse of its beloved one, that evoked his utterence in a verse, his grief so transformed, *śokaḥ ślokatvam āgataḥ*. This *karuṇa rasa* or the flavour of compassion is portrayed in a Basohli painting of the self-same theme.

A sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Fig. 129) vividly illustrates the grief of the faithful horse Kaṇṭaka, which, though the dumb animal that he is, cannot resist his tears at the sight of Śuddhodana and others in the palace, where he returns without his master, as a look at the loved ones aggravates grief: *svajanasya hi duhkham agrato vivṛitadvāram ivopajāyate, Kumārasambhava* 4, 26.

The painting from Ajaṇṭā illustrating the dying princess, filled

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with remorse, reeling on her couch, anxiously attended by her maids in waiting, recalling the line of Kālidāsa, 'the dear one of the king, the best of mortals, fainted like the moonlight with the moon disappearing in the darkness of night: *nimimīla narottamapriyā hṛitachandrā tamasaiva kaumudī*, *Raghūvamśa* 8, 37, is another telling example. The identical sculptural version from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is equally effective (Fig. 130).

Yet another example is a frieze from Khajuraho showing a king out hunting and an arrow sticking out of the tender body of a spotted dear. This cannot but recall the agitated exclamation of the kind-hearted hermit from the penance grove of Kaṇva requesting the king to refrain from shooting sharp arrows aimed at the innocent deer. To him and those of his ilk, sharp arrows piercing the soft limbs of the innocent deer suggest the presence of fire in a heap of cotton: *na khalu na khalu bāṇas sannipātyo' yam asmin mṛiduni mṛigaśarīre tūlarāśāvivāgniḥ, kva bata hariṇakānām jīvitam chāti lolam kva cha niśitanipātā vajrasārās śarās te*, *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, 1.

The abject poverty of saintly Sudāmā, so earnestly exhorted by his wife to better their condition by a visit to his friend Kṛishṇa, has a telling narration in a picture (Fig. 136) that evokes compassion.

Vīrarasa, heroic flavour is a popular theme in art. The numerous hero stones, showing the valorous fight of the hero on the battlefield, mounted on an elephant or on a horse, as a foot soldier or from the chariot, in various attitudes, with the sword, with the bow and arrow, with the battle-axe, with the hammer pounding the skull of the opponent, or with the spear attacking fiercely, is all very expressive. Even the journey of the warrior to Valhalla or warriors' heaven is also a favourite theme in the panels of hero-stones. The representation of Bhīshma on a *śaratalpa* or a bed of arrows is probably the most significant as it shows the warrior's preference of a bed of arrows over that of roses. This theme is depicted both in sculpture and painting. Bhīshma is surrounded by heroes and sages who adore him as the ideal hero and the greatest ethical and spiritual guide. There are several paintings depicting the valorous fight of the heroes of the Kurukshetra war, particularly Abhimanyu's

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valour on the battlefield. It may be remembered in this context that the scene of *dharmayuddha* or righteous warfare from Amarāvatī is one of the most effective ocular representations of *vīrarasa* in sculpture (Fig. 81).

Raudra is a flavour peculiar to Rudra which is most effective in Tripurāntaka. There is no better example of this than the early Choḷa painting (Fig. 135) from the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr, showing the charming face of Śiva blazing fury by the raised and knit brows and rolling eyes flashing fire, as he is seated in the warriors' *ālīḍha* position on his chariot, *atishṭhad ālīḍhaviśeshaśobhinā vapuḥprakarsheṇa viḍambiteśvaraḥ, Raghuvamśa* 3, 52. Rāma, roused to anger, is described as *kālāgni*, fire of dissolution at the end of the world, *kālāgnisadṛiśaḥ krodhe, Rāmāyaṇa* 1, 1,18. A painting by Ravi Varma is an excellent example of this fury where Rāma stands bow in hand (Fig. 5) threatening the ocean, on the billows of which personified Samudrarāja hastens to pacify him.

Bhayānaka is the flavour that evokes terror which is depicted as effectively in art as in literature. In sculpture, Śivadūtī (Fig. 131, 132) or Kṛiśodarī, fearful in form, creates a feeling of terror by the scorpion shown on the shrunken stomach (Fig. 131), suggesting a hunger that stings and goads her to swallow up the universe to quench it. The vampire, that midnight brings face to face with the timid damsel, approaching the point of the tryst with her beloved, is a theme familiar in many paintings of the *abhisārikā* which illustrates *bhayānaka* (Fig. 75).

The battlefield, with heads and limbs cut and scattered, corpses in their own pool of blood, with unclean animals and birds like jackals and vultures hovering over dead bodies, freezes the heart and creates a creepy feeling of disgust which is characteristic of *bībhatsa rasa*. A revolting situation is the unrobing of Draupadī, a theme evoking disgust (Fig. 139) and portrayed by artists even in the days of Bhāsa.

Adbhutarasa is depicted in such representations as of baby Kṛishṇa crawling between twin trees, *yamalārjuna*, that fall apart and

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assume the form of a pair of Gandharvas (Fig. 141), or the kicking of the cart by the baby in the cradle to overturn and kill a demon in that guise (Fig. 133), at which, in the Gupta panel from Deogarh, a milkmaid wonders, with her fore finger on her lip expressive of amazement. The Tṛiṇāvarta episode, another of the *bālalīlās* of Kṛishṇa, is one more example of a sight evoking wonder (Fig. 140).

Śṛiṅgāra is classified under two heads, *sambhoga* and *vipralambha*. The first is shown in examples where the lovers are together in pleasant enjoyment of each other's company as of Kṛishṇa in the vicinity of Rādhā (Fig. 137). The proximity of the beloved one, the hand lovingly resting on her shoulder or neck, a smile exchanged, pleasant conversation expressing great feelings of the heart are all so very eloquent of this aspect of *śṛiṅgāra*.

The classical examples of *vipralambha* are the descriptions of the suffering and sorrow of Rāma separated from Sītā or the Yaksha in the *Meghadūta* separated from his beloved one. Rativilāpa and Ajavilāpa are also effective examples. Dhurandhar has an excellent painting on the latter theme. Madanāntaka, an early Choḷa sculpture from Gangaikoṇḍacholapuram, is an excellent illustration of the former. Another Choḷa panel of a century later from Dārāsuram illustrates the same theme and is an equally effective depiction (Fig. 134). In Śiva, of auspicious countenance as his name connotes, more beautiful than Madana himself, in whom ugly marks of anger should possibly be avoided, anger is cleverly suggested by the sculptor, not by the knit brow or the blazing eye, but by a single finger of the hand in suggestive *tarjanī*. The frantic cries of the alarmed celestials rushing to plead with Śiva to desist *krodham prabho saṁhara saṁhareti yāvad giraḥ khe marutām charanti*, is very suggestively shown in the rushing figures with outstretched hands, their palms in *patāka*, shaking violently in disapproval, most respectfully conveyed as a request 'please do not destroy'. Rati, disconsolate in this context, as Kāma is thrown down reeling lifeless, is a very effective picture of *śṛiṅgāra* in separation almost for ever.

The sculpture in this form cannot fail to recall Mammaṭa's remarks in regard to the verse describing the anger of Śiva which in

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a trice destroyed Manmatha. In pointing out the merits and defects of composition, he commends Kālidāsa's description of instantaneous destruction of Cupid by fire issuing from the eye of Śiva, without the external exhibition of fire through factors like the knit brow, blazing eyes, and so forth: *krodham prabho saṁhara saṁhareti yāvad giraḥ khe marutām charanti, tāvat sa vahnir bhavanetrajanmā bhasmāvaśesham madanam chakāra ityuktatvāt bhrukuṭyādivikāravarjitaḥ krodhas sadyaḥphaladas svargapātālagaganasamudrollaṅghanādyutsāhas cha divyeshveva, Kāvyaprakāśa* 8, 329.

A commingling of several *rasas* in one, *bhāvaśabalatā*, is also very cleverly given in such examples as the classical painting of the fight of Śiva as Tripurāntaka attacked by Asuras, with knit brows, eyes rolling in agitation, swiftly moving forward, brandishing their weapons, determined to fight and win or die, little caring for the tears and the dissuasion of their wives, clinging to them in despair, beseeching them to desist from fight, when defeat and destruction were a certainty for them, as they were no match for the Divine Destroyer that Śiva was. This painting (Fig. 37) in the Bṛihadīśvara temple showing all these aspects, particularly the women in despair, clinging like creepers to imposing trees, stressing the undaunted spirit of the warrior in the demons flashing fire in a mad rush to encounter the Destroyer himself, is indeed a masterpiece of the Choḷa painter illustrating *bhāvaśabalatā*, in this a commingling of *vīra, raudra, bhayānaka, śṛiṅgāra* and *karuṇa rasas.*

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चित्रसूत्रम्

पञ्चत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि चित्रसूत्रं तवानघ ।
उर्वशीं सृजता पूर्वं चित्रसूत्रं नृपात्मज ॥ १ ॥

नारायणेन मुनिना लोकानां हितकाम्यया ।
प्राप्तानां वञ्चनार्थाय देवस्त्रीणां महामुनिः ॥ २ ॥

सहकाररसं गृह्य ऊर्वी[1] चक्रे वरस्त्रियम् ।
चित्रेण सा ततो जाता रूपयुक्ता वराप्सराः ॥ ३ ॥

यां दृष्ट्वा व्रीडिताः सर्वा जग्मुस्ता देवयोषितः ।
एवं महामुनिः कृत्वा चित्रं लक्षणसंयुतम् ॥ ४ ॥

ग्राहयामास स तदा विश्वकर्माणमच्युतम् ।
यथा नृत्ये[2] तथा चित्रे त्रैलोक्यानुकृतिः स्मृता ॥ ५ ॥

दृष्टयश्च[3] तथा भावा अङ्गोपाङ्गानि सर्वशः ।
कराश्च ये मता नृत्ते पूर्वोक्ता नृपसत्तम ॥ ६ ॥

त एव चित्रे विज्ञेया नृत्तं चित्रं परं मतम् ।
नृत्ते प्रमाणं यन्नोक्तं तत्प्रवक्ष्याम्यतः शृणु ॥ ७ ॥

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1. Here is a clear case for correction of reading. It is well known that उर्वशी is from the ऊरु or thigh of Nārāyaṇa. Hence the emendation. If it were from उर्वी the derivation would be different. The illustration at Bhārhut is also a pointer to the right reading.

2. The reading नृत्ये is better then नृत्ते as it is only the former by its *abhinaya* that can achieve interpretation of the world around, *trailokyānukṛiti*.

3. Here च is more appropriate than तु. So this reading is preferred.

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हंसो भद्रोऽथ मालव्यो रुचकः शशकस्तथा ।
विज्ञेयाः पुरुषाः पञ्च तेषां वक्ष्यामि लक्षणम् ॥ ८ ॥

उच्छ्रायायामतुल्यास्ते सर्वे ज्ञेयाः प्रमाणतः ।
स्वेनैवाङ्गुलिमानेन शतमष्टाधिकं भवेत् ॥ ९ ॥

प्रमाणं नृप हंसस्य भद्रस्य तु षडुत्तरम् ।
चतुर्भिरधिकं ज्ञेयं मालव्यस्य तथा नृप ॥ १० ॥

शतं च रुचकस्योक्तं दशोनं शशकस्य च ।
द्वादशाङ्गुलविस्तारस्ताल इत्यभिधीयते ॥ ११ ॥

आगुल्फान्तं चतुर्भागं पादोच्छ्रायः प्रकीर्तितः ।
द्वौ च तालौ तथा जङ्घे पादतुल्ये च जानुनी ॥ १२ ॥

जङ्घातुल्यौ तथा चोरू नाभिस्तालं तु मेढ्रतः ।
तावच्च नाभेर्हृदयं हृदयात्कण्ठ एव च ॥ १३ ॥

कण्ठस्तालत्रिभागः स्यात्तालं च वदनं भवेत् ।
तालषड्भागमप्युक्तं ललाटोपरि मस्तकम् ॥ १४ ॥

मध्ये मेढ्रं तु विज्ञेयमिति दैर्घ्यं प्रकीर्तितम् ।
तालः प्रोक्तः करो राजन्बाहू सप्तदशाङ्गुलौ ॥ १५ ॥

प्रबाहू तावदेवोक्तौ वक्षसोऽर्धमथाष्टकम् ।
एतदायामतः प्रोक्तं मानं हंसस्य पार्थिव ॥ १६ ॥

अनेनैवानुसारेण शेषाणामपि कल्पयेत् ।
आयामपरिणाहाभ्यां समाः सर्वे नराधिप[1] ॥ १७ ॥

सामान्यतस्ते नृपवर्य मानं प्रोक्तं मया हंसनराधिपस्य ।
प्रत्यङ्गमानं तु मयोच्यमानं समासतस्त्वं शृणु राजसिंह ॥ १८ ॥

इति श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे चित्रसूत्रे आयामोच्छ्रायमानं नाम पञ्चत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥ ३५ ॥

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1. It should be नराधिप addressing the King, not in plural.

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षट्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

अथ प्रत्यङ्गविभागो भवति । तत्र द्वात्रिंशाङ्गुलपरिणाहो मूर्धा । चतुरङ्गुलोच्छ्रायमष्टाङ्गुलं ललाटम् । शङ्खौ चतुरङ्गुलोच्छ्रायौ । पञ्चाङ्गुलौ गण्डौ । चतुरङ्गुलो हनुः । द्वयङ्गुलौ कर्णौ चतुरङ्गुलोच्छ्रायौ कर्णमध्यमङ्गुलम्[1] तद्रन्ध्रमूलात्[2] पालिरनियमेन । कर्णस्य पुटिका[3] पालिः । नासा चतुरङ्गुला अग्रे द्वयङ्गुलोच्छ्राया त्रिकायामा च । नासापुटावङ्गुलिबिस्तारौ द्विगुणायामौ । नासौष्ठमध्यमर्धाङ्गुलम् । ओष्ठश्चाङ्गुलः । चतुरङ्गुलाय[illegible]ममास्यम् । अधरोऽङ्गुलम् । द्वयङ्गुलं चिबुकम् । चतुर्विंशतिदन्तास्तथा[4] अष्टौ दंष्ट्राः । अर्धाङ्गुलोच्छ्रिता दन्ताः । अङ्गुलद्वादशभागाधिका[5] दंष्ट्रा । अङ्गुलविस्तृते त्र्यङ्गुलायामे नेत्रे । नेत्रत्रिभागं कृष्णमण्डलम् । पञ्चभागा[6] तारा । अर्धाङ्गुलविस्तृते त्र्यङ्गुलायामे भ्रुवौ । तयोरङ्गुलमन्तरम्[7] । चतुरङ्गुलं नेत्रान्तकर्णविवरम् । दशाङ्गुलविस्तृता ग्रीवा एकविंशत्यङ्गुलपरीणाहा । षोडशाङ्गुलं स्तनान्तरम् । षडङ्गुलं स्तनजत्वन्तरम् । षोडश बाहुमूलपरिणाहः द्वादशाग्रे । सप्ताङ्गुलं करतलं पञ्चाङ्गुलं विस्तृतम् । पञ्चाङ्गुलप्रमाणा मध्यमिका । तत्पर्वदलहीना प्रदेशिनी । तत्तुल्या चानामिका । तत्परिहीना कनिष्ठिका । सर्वाः समत्रिभागपर्वाः । पर्वार्धा नखाः । त्र्यङ्गुलमङ्गुष्ठो द्विपर्वः । जठरपरिणाहो द्वाचत्वारिंशाङ्गुलः[8] । वेद्यप्रमाणाभ्यामङ्गुलं नाभिः । कटिरष्टादशाङ्गुला विपुला । तत्परिधिः चतुश्चत्वारिंशत् । चतुरङ्गुलविस्तृतौ वृषणौ । षडङ्गुलं तावत्परीणाहं मेढ्रम् । तन्मध्यत ऊरू चतुरङ्गुलौ । तद्विगुणपरिणाहाङ्गुलिविपुले जानुनी तत्त्रिगुणपरिणाहे । जङ्घाग्रं पञ्चाङ्गुलं चतुर्दश परिणाहम् । द्वादशाङ्गुलदीर्घौ षडङ्गुलविस्तृतौ पादौ त्रिकायताङ्गुष्ठौ । अङ्गुष्ठतुल्या प्रदेशिनी । तदष्टांशोनाः शेषाः ।

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1. It should be मध्यं and not मध्यः.

2. The correct reading here should be this, as रन्ध्रमुदकाम् makes no sense and it is clearly a clerical error मु for मू, द an extra, क in the place of ल,and म् in the place of त्.

3. It is clearly पुटिका same as पुटी that is well known as कर्णपुट same as कर्णपाली, लुटिका is scribe's error.

4. The reading is wrong...स्तेषु would mean 'eight out of twentyfour' which is obviously wrong. It is स्तथा meaning 'eight more.'

5. Clearly the scribe has carelessly missed a letter धि. It would be absurd if other teeth are half an inch and the *damshṭrā* (canine teeth) one twelfth of an inch. It is this small extra length that is meant by द्वादशभागाधिका.

6. It cannot be···स्तारा it is भागा तारा.

7. Here the scribe has repeated and confused the reading. द्वयङ्गुलमन्तरम् and अङ्गुलमान्तरम् connot go together.

8. This is better reading than चत्वारिंशदङ्ग लः.

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अङ्गुलचतुर्भागहीनोऽङ्गुष्ठनखः । तदर्ध प्रमाणं प्रदेशिन्याः । तदष्टभागः शेषाणाम् । सर्वपादमङ्गुलमष्टाङ्गुलोत्सेधः । त्र्यङ्गुले पार्ष्णी चतुरङ्गुलोच्छ्रायौ । इति हंसप्रमाणं भवति । भवन्ति चात्र—

शेषाणां पार्थिवेन्द्राणां मानं युक्तया प्रकल्पयेत् ।
अनेनैवानुसारेण स्वमानस्यानुसारतः ॥ १ ॥

मध्वक्षश्चन्द्रगौरस्तु नागराजभुजो बली ।
हंसगामी सुमध्यश्च हंसश्च सुमुखो भवेत् ॥ २ ॥

रोमरुद्धकपोलस्तु गजगामी महामतिः ।
वृत्तोपचितबाहुस्तु भद्रः पद्मनिभो भवेत् ॥ ३ ॥

मुद्गश्यामस्तु मालव्यः कृशमध्यस्तनुच्छविः ।
आजानुबाहुः पीनांसो दन्तिघोणो महाहनुः ॥ ४ ॥

शरद्गौरस्तु रुचकः कम्बुग्रीवो महामतिः ।
सत्यस्तु रसिकश्चैव बलवांश्च प्रकीर्तितः ॥ ५ ॥

रक्तश्यामस्तु शशकः किञ्चित्कर्बुरकस्तथा ।
पूर्णगण्डश्च चतुरो मध्वक्षश्च प्रकीर्तितः ॥ ६ ॥

इति श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे चित्रसूत्रे प्रमाणाध्यायो नाम षट्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥ ३६ ॥

सप्तत्रिंशोऽध्यायः

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गमानेन यथा पञ्च नराः स्मृताः ।
स्त्रियः पञ्च तथा ज्ञेयास्ता एव मनुजोत्तम ॥ १ ॥

पुरुषस्य समीपस्था कर्तव्या योषिदीश्वर ।
नरस्कन्धप्रमाणेन कार्यैका सा यथामति ॥ २ ॥

अङ्गुलौ द्वौ नरात्क्षामं स्त्रियो मध्यं विधीयते ।
अधिका च कटिः कार्या तथैव चतुरङ्गुलम् ॥ ३ ॥

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उरःप्रमाणतः कार्यौ स्तनौ नृप मनोहरौ ।
नृपाश्च सर्वे कर्तव्या महापुरुषलक्षणाः ॥ ४ ॥

जालपादकराः कार्यास्तथा वै चक्रवर्तिनः ।
ऊर्णेयं च भ्रुवोर्मध्ये तेषां कार्या[1] तथा शुभा[2] ॥ ५ ॥

रेखाश्च करयोः कार्यास्तिस्रो राज्ञां मनोहराः ।
शशक्षतजसंकाशाः शस्ता वै क्षामकोटिकाः[3] ॥ ६ ॥

तरङ्गभङ्गिनः सूक्ष्मा निजस्नेहाभ्यलंकृताः ।
घनेन्द्रनीलसदृशाः केशाः कार्यास्तथा शुभाः ॥ ७ ॥

कुन्तला दक्षिणावर्तास्तरङ्गास्सिंहकेसराः ।
वर्धरा जूटसरा इत्येताः केशजातयः ॥ ८ ॥

चापाकारं भवेन्नेत्रं मत्स्योदरमथापि वा ।
नेत्रमुत्पलपत्राभं पद्मपत्रनिभं तथा ॥ ९ ॥

शङ्खाकृति[4] महाराज पञ्चमं परिकीर्तितम् ।
चापाकारं भवेन्नेत्र प्रमाणेन यवास्त्रयः ॥ १० ॥

मत्स्योदराख्यं कथितं तथा यवचतुष्टयम् ।
नेत्रमुत्पलपत्राख्यं प्रमाणात्षडचवं स्मृतम् ॥ ११ ॥

पद्मपत्रनिभं नेत्रं प्रमाणेन यवा नव ।
शङ्खाकृति च विज्ञेयं तथैव च यवा दश ॥ १२ ॥

स्वमानाङ्गुलमानस्य यवमानं प्रकल्पयेत् ।
चापाकारं भवेन्नेत्रं योगभूमिनिरीक्षणात् ॥ १३ ॥

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1. It should read कार्या and not कार्यं.
2. It should read शुभा and not शुभम्.
3. It has to be टि and not ट.
4. शराकृति is not possible as an arrow is just a shapeless line. It should be शङ्खाकृति which reading is more to be preferred. It is then somewhat circular.

This is probably the original reading as is found in the Tibetan version of the *Chitralakshaṇa* which is a verbatim copy from the *Vishṇudharmottara* (vide p. 39)

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नारीणां कामिनां कार्यं तथा मत्स्योदराकृति[1] ।
नेत्रमुत्पलपत्राभं निर्विकारस्य शस्यते ।। १४ ।।

त्रस्तस्य रुदतश्चैव पद्मपत्रनिभं भवेत् ।
क्रुद्धस्य वेदनार्तस्य नेत्रं शङ्खाकृति[2] भवेत् ।। १५ ।।

ऋषयः पितरश्चैव देवताश्च नराधिप ।
स्वप्रभाभरणाः कार्या द्युतिमन्तस्तथैव च ।।
मुष्णन्तस्तेजसा तेजः परेषां नृपसत्तम ।। १६ ।।

सम्यग्विचार्य नृपते स्वधिया यथोक्तं ह्येतत्प्रमाणमनुरूपमनिन्दितं च ।
स्थानैरनेककरणैः[3] स्थिरभूमिलम्भैः कार्यं तदेव सुकुमारमजिह्मलेखम् ।। १७ ।।

इति श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे सामान्यमानं नाम सप्तत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।। ३७ ।।

अष्टत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

नेत्रमुत्पलपत्राभं रक्तान्तं कृष्णतारकम् ।
प्रसन्नं दीर्घपक्ष्मान्तं मनोज्ञं मृदुसत्तमम्[4] ।। १ ।।

देवतानां कृतं राजन्प्रजाहितकरं भवेत् ।
समे गोक्षीरवर्णाभे स्निग्धे जिह्माग्रपक्ष्मले ।। २ ।।

प्रसन्ने पद्मनेत्रान्ते मनोज्ञे प्रियदर्शने ।
कृष्णतारे विशाले च नयने श्रीसुखप्रदे ।। ३ ।।

चतुरस्रं सुसंपूर्णं प्रसन्नं शुभलक्षणम् ।
अत्रिकोणमवक्रं च अधिकारमुखं[5] भवेत् ।। ४ ।।

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1. It is only when the same words are in this order that the metre is maintained. मत्स्योदराकृति कार्यं नारीणां कामिनां तथा is metrically faulty.
2. Here again it is loss of metre unless it were शङ्खाकृति स्मृतम् or something like that.
3. It must be करणैः and not किरणैः
4. मृदुसत्तमम् would qualify the eye as it should and is no epithet of the King addressed.
5. This reading is corrupt. If च and अ coalesce as they should there is a slip in the metre. And what is अधिकारमुख? Can it be मुग्धाकारं मुखं भवेत्?

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दीर्घमण्डलवक्राणि त्रिकोणादीनि यानि च ।
वर्ज्यानि तानि देवानां प्रजासु शिवमिच्छता ।। ५ ।।

कार्या हंसप्रमाणेन देवा यदुकुलोद्वह ।
तेषां च लोम कर्तव्यमक्षिपक्ष्मसु च भ्रुवोः ।। ६ ।।

अतः शेषेषु गात्रेषु देवाः स्युर्लोमवर्जिताः ।
द्विरष्टवर्षाकाराश्च तथा कार्या दिवौकसः ।। ७ ।।

प्रसन्नवदना नित्यं तथा च स्मितदृष्टयः ।
मुकुटैः कुण्डलैर्हारैः केयूरैरङ्गदैस्तथा ।। ८ ।।

भूषितास्तेऽथ कर्तव्याः शुभस्रग्दामधारिणः ।
श्रोणीसूत्रेण महता पादाभरणधारिणः ।। ९ ।।

यज्ञोपवीतवन्तश्च सावतंसास्तथैव च ।
जान्वधोलम्बिना कार्याः शोभिना कटिवाससा ।। १० ।।

वामे मनुजशार्दूल दक्षिणं जानु दर्शयेत् ।
अंशुकं च तथा कार्यं देवतानां मनोहरम् ।। ११ ।।

प्रभा च तेषां कर्तव्या मूर्ध्नि मूर्ध्नः प्रमाणतः ।
मण्डलाभा महाराज देवतातोऽनुकारिणी ।। १२ ।।

ऊर्ध्वा दृष्टिरधोदृष्टिस्तिर्यक् तेषाँ विवर्जयेत् ।
हीनाधिका वा हीना वा क्रुद्धा रूक्षा तथैव च ।। १३ ।।

ऊर्ध्वा तु मरणायोक्ता शोकायाधः प्रकीर्तिता ।
तिर्यग् धनविनाशाय हीना भवति मृत्यवे ।। १४ ।।

अधिका शोकजननी दीना च नृपसत्तम ।
रूक्षा धनक्षयाय स्यात्क्रुद्धा भयविवर्धिनी ।। १५ ।।

शातोदरी[1] न कर्तव्या न कार्या चाधिकोदरी ।
सक्षता च न कर्तव्या तथा यदुकुलोद्वह ।। १६ ।।

हीनाधिकप्रमाणा वा रूक्षवर्णा तथैव च ।
विवृतेन च वक्त्रेण नता च यदुनन्दन ।। १७ ।।

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1. शतोदरी is better reading than छातोदरी

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प्रमाणहीनैरङ्गैश्च त्वधिकैरपि पार्थिव ।
शतोदरी क्षुद्भयदा मरणायाधिकोदरी ।। १८ ।।

सक्षता मरणायोक्ता हीना धनविनाशिनी ।
अधिका शोकजननी रूक्षवर्णा भयप्रदा ।। १९ ।।

विवृतेन च वक्त्रेण कुलनाशकरी भवेत् ।
प्राच्याभा धननाशाय दक्षिणेन च मृत्यवे ।। २० ।।

पश्चिमेन सुतघ्नी स्यादुदग् भयविवृद्धये ।
प्रमाणहीना नाशाय अधिका देशनाशिनी ।। २१ ।।

अश्लक्ष्णा मरणायोक्ता क्रुद्धा रूपविनाशिनी ।
प्रमाणहीनां प्रतिमां तथा लक्षणवर्जिताम् ।। २२ ।।

आवाहितां नाविशन्ति विप्रैरपि दिवौकसः[1] ।
आविशन्ति तु तां नित्यं पिशाचा दैत्यदानवाः ।। २३ ।।

तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन मानहीनां विवर्जयेत् ।
चित्रं[2] लक्षणसंयुक्तं प्रशस्तं सर्वमुच्यते ।। २४ ।।

आयुष्यं च यशस्यं च धनधान्यविवर्धनम् ।
तदेव लक्षणापेतं धनधान्यविनाशनम् ।। २५ ।।

देवा नरेन्द्र कर्तव्याः शोभावन्तः सदैव तु ।
मृगेन्द्रवृषनागानां हंसानां गतिभिः समाः ।। २६ ।।

सलक्षणं चित्रमुशन्ति धन्यं देशस्य कर्तुर्वसुधाधिपस्य ।
तस्मात्प्रयत्नेन सलक्षणं तत्कार्यं नरैर्यत्नपरैर्यथावत् ।। २७ ।।

इति श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे प्रतिमालक्षणाध्यायो नाम अष्टत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।। ३८ ।।

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1. The line आवाहितां च loses force without अपि. आवाहितापि is wrong construction as it should be आवाहिता अपि when the metre is lost. The words originally may have been in slight changed order as given here when alone it makes sense.

2. It is not चित्रलक्षण संयुक्तम् but चित्रं लक्षणसंयुक्तम्

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एकोनचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ।

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

शुभाकारविहाराणि नानावर्णधराणि च ।
नव स्थानानि रूपाणां शृणु तान्यनुपूर्वशः ॥ १ ॥

ऋज्वागतं भवेत्पूर्वमनृजु स्यादनन्तरम्[1] ।
साचीकृतशरीरं च भवत्यर्धविलोचनम् ॥ २ ॥

ततः पार्श्वागतं नाम पुरावृत्तमनन्तरम् ।
पृष्ठागतमतः कार्यं[2] परावृत्तं समानतम् ॥ ३ ॥

एतान्यनेकभेदानि नव स्थानानि भूपते[3] ।
एकैकस्येह भवतः[4] शृणु मे नृप लक्षणम् ॥ ४ ॥

तत्राभिमुखमेवादौ स्पष्टमानगुणान्वितम् ।
सुसंपूर्णं सुचार्वङ्गं सुश्लक्ष्णामलवर्तकम् ॥ ५ ॥

सुशुद्धं मधुरं स्पष्टरेखासंस्कारभूषितम् ।
यद्भूवेत्स्थानमक्षीणगात्रं ऋज्वागतं तु तत् ॥ ६ ॥

मुखस्यादावतोऽक्षीणं वक्षसश्चोदरस्य[5] च ।
कटयाश्च[6] स्कन्धदेशाच्च ऊरुतश्च क्षयं गतम् ॥ ७ ॥

नासापुटाधरोष्ठानां चतुर्थांशं च बुद्धिमत्[7] ।
क्षयं नीतं त्रिभागं च यस्य गात्रेभ्य एव च ॥ ८ ॥

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1. The reading अनृजु तदनन्तरम् is faulty metre. अनृजुस्तदनन्तरम् is faulty language. अनृजु स्यादनन्तरम् is just य in the place of त and rectifies clerical error.
2. अधः कार्यं is clerical error for अतः कार्यं. There is no need to correct कार्यं into कायं to make अधः कायं
3. भूषिते makes no sense. The King addressed so often is called भूपते.
4. It should be either वदतः or भणतः as भवतः makes no sense.
5. The whole line is currupt. वक्षसः उदरं is incorrect. It should be वक्षसः उदरस्य. After these two are corrected it can only be च as it is in still later cases.
6. It cannot be कटया च स्कन्धदेशाच्च.
7. बुद्धिमत् is the accepted reading, not बुद्धिमान्. Otherwise it should read बुद्धितः

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कान्तरूपं परं स्थानं स्थानलम्भोपपादितम् ।
एतदनृजु[1] नामोक्तमनेककरणान्वितम् ॥ ९ ॥

यत्तिर्यग्भूमिलम्भेन नेत्रहारि सुवर्तनम् ।
सुकुमारं चतुर्भागक्षीणं[2] सर्वाङ्गशोभनम् ॥ १० ॥

अध्यर्धभ्रूललाट[3] चाप्यध्यर्धघ्राणमुत्कटम्[4] ।
भागक्षयावशेषार्धं कलापक्षीणलोचनम् ॥ ११ ॥

कलावलुप्तभ्रूलेखं लिखितं स्निग्धलेखया ।
न च छायागतं वालं[5] न चापि ऋजुकोपमम्[6] ॥ १२ ॥

वैकारिकत्वाच्च नृप साचीकृतमिहोच्यते ।
अर्धं नेत्रं मुखे यस्य लुप्तमर्धं भ्रुवस्तथा[7] ॥ १३ ॥

भङ्गो ललाटमात्रश्च दृश्यनासार्धमेव च[8] ।
मात्रार्धं चैकतो गण्डं दृश्येतार्धकृतक्षयम् ॥ १४ ॥

मात्रार्धं कण्ठरेखाया यवमाविष्कृतं हनोः ।
उरसोऽर्धं मुखं लुप्तं नाभ्याः स्याच्छिष्टमङ्गलम् ॥ १५ ॥

अध्यर्धशेषा च कटी[9] चान्यच्चादर्शनीकृतम्[10] ।
अध्यर्धाक्षं परिज्ञेयमाकारेणैवमादिना ॥ १६ ॥

---

1. The reading एतदेवर्जु is obviously wrong, since the *sthāna* here explained is अनृजु.
2. चतुर्भागक्षीणं is one word.
3. अध्यर्धभ्रूललाटं is one word.
4. अध्यर्धघ्राणं is one word.
5. It is वालं, and not कालं; वा अलं meaning it does not approach silhouette sufficiently.
6. It is ऋजुकोपमम् and not ऋजुकोपनम्. No anger is meant here. It means it is not like ऋजु either.
7. It should be भ्रुवस्तथा not भ्रुवे तथा
8. The reading दृश्यानां सार्धं is obviously wrong. The word cannot be split and the *dirgha* for य and *bindu* for न have no place being clerical errors.
9. There is no coming together of टी and अ. A च should have been here and dropped by the scribe.
10. There is a reading giving अदर्शनीकृत which is the right one. Moreover the metre fails, and the sense as well, without the *nañ*.

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छायागतमिति प्रोक्तं पर्यायेणैतदेव तु ।
यस्यावलोक्यते पार्श्वं दक्षिणं सव्यमेव वा ॥ १७ ॥

कृत्स्नमन्यत्क्षयायातमङ्गमङ्गगतिस्तथा ।
एकाक्षमेकभ्रूलेखाधरनासाललाटवत् ॥ १८ ॥

एकं श्रोत्रं यदर्धं स्याच्चिबुकार्धं शिरोरुहम् ।
अहीनमानलावण्यमाधुर्यादिगुणान्वितम् ॥ १९ ॥

पार्श्वागतमिति प्रोक्तं तत्स्याद्भित्तिकसंज्ञितम् ।
अपाकृते[1] कलाक्षीणे कण्ठदेशे तथैव च ॥ २० ॥

बाहुगण्डललाटेषु कलाख्यं क्षयमागतम् ।
बाहुवक्षःकटितटस्थितिगुह्यतलेष्वपि ॥ २१ ॥

द्विकलं द्विकलं ज्ञात्वा यथाभागं कृशीकृतम् ।
अनुरूपप्रमाणेन नातिक्षीणाङ्गमेव च ॥ २२ ॥

एतद्गण्डपरावृत्तं स्थानं च परिकीर्तितम् ।
पृष्ठतो यदपि व्यक्तं देहबन्धं मनोहरम् ॥ २३ ॥

वक्रभ्रूश्लक्ष्णसर्वाङ्गसंधिबन्धनमेव[2] च ।
ईषच्च दर्शितापाङ्गं कपोले जठरे पुनः ॥ २४ ॥

प्रकाशितैकपार्श्वेन सुस्थिरं दृष्टिहारि च ।
अहीनमानलावण्यमाधुर्यादिगुणान्वितम् ॥ २५ ॥

लेख्येषु पुस्तदेशेषु पृष्ठागतमिति स्मृतम् ।
यस्योर्ध्वमङ्गपत्ये[3](पाते)न भागेन समवस्थितम् ॥ २६ ॥

स्थितेप्यभिमुखेऽर्धाङ्गे परिवृत्तिवशाद्भवेत् ।
किञ्चिच्छायागतौ कार्यावुपरिष्टादधः पुरः ॥ २७ ॥

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1. अपाकृते should be the right reading as अपाक्रुद्धे has no sense.
2. The reading श्लक्ष्ण goes well with the emendation of सर्वज्ञसंधिबंध into सर्वांगसंधिबंध. सर्वज्ञसंधि makes no sense. It should be as emended.
3. Can it be अङ्गपात or diminishing or loss from sight of certain limbs?

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अर्धार्धगतसारूप्यं विरसं ग्राम्यसंस्थितम् ।
मध्येन नेत्ररम्येण यथायोगविलोपना ॥ २८ ॥

विज्ञेयं दधतः कार्यं परिवृत्तं नरेश्वर ।
समग्रदृष्टस्फिग्देशं[1] दृष्टपादतलं[2] च यत् ॥ २९ ॥

ऊर्ध्वतः क्षीणदृष्टार्धं दृष्टाशेषं[3] कटिस्थलम् ।
लुप्तपादाङ्गुलितलं दृश्याशेषतलद्वयम् ॥ ३० ॥

चतुरस्रं सुसंपुर्णमभयानकदर्शनम् ।
प्रकाशीकृतबाह्वर्धमदृष्टमुखकन्धरम्[4] ॥ ३१ ॥

लुप्त जङ्घैकतो ज्ञेयं नाम्ना स्थानं समानतम् ।
नवाप्येतानि[5] सर्वाणि तथोक्तैरभिराजितम् ॥ ३२ ॥

लक्षितैर्लक्षितव्यानि त्वयाऽनुक्रमशो नव ।
एषां प्रज्ञाविशेषेण विकाराणि बहून्यपि ॥ ३३ ॥

एकैकशश्च[6] भूभागैः कर्तव्यानि यथाविधि ।
त्वया सतत्वमासाद्य[7] सम्यङ् मानं तु भूतले ॥ ३४ ॥

स्थानानीमानि मानाद्यैर्गुणैर्लेख्यानि यत्नतः ।
नवैवैतानि दृष्टानि सर्वभावेष्वनिन्दितम् ॥ ३५ ॥

स्थानानि नाधिकमतः परमस्ति हि किंचन ।
जीवलोकं परिक्रम्म सततं स्थाणुजङ्गमम् ॥ ३६ ॥

उत्तमाधममध्येषु प्रमाणगुणतस्सदा ।
चित्रं विचित्रं त्रिविधं प्रमाणं त्रयमेव च ॥ ३७ ॥

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1. and 2. The word should be दृष्ट instead of दृष्टि.

3. It should read as one word दृष्टाशेषं or even दृष्टाशेषकटिस्थलम्. The reading दृष्टचा शेषं makes no sense.

4. It should read बाह्वर्धं as बाह्वर्धं makes no sense.

5. It should read नवाप्येतानि and cannot be नवान्येतानि.

6. This is better reading then एकैकशेन.

7. संतस्समासाद्य appears incorrect. It may be सतत्वमासाद्य.

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क्षयवृद्धी च कात्स्न्येन मया तेऽभिहितेऽनघ ।
अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि क्षयवृद्धिविधिं क्रमात् ॥ ३८ ॥

चित्रविद्भिस्सुसंज्ञेयं[1] समासेनेतरेण च ।
त्रयोदशविधैवात्र क्षयवृद्धिरुदाहृता ॥ ३९ ॥

स्थानानां बहुसंस्थत्वादङ्गावयवसंभवा ।
स्थानं पृष्ठगतं[2] पूर्वमनृजूगतमेव[3] च ॥ ४० ॥

मध्यार्धार्धं तथार्धार्धं साचीकृतमुखं तथा ।
नेत्रं गण्डपरावृत्तं पृष्ठागतमथापि च ॥ ४१ ॥

पार्श्वागतं च विज्ञेयमुल्लेपं चलितं तथा ।
उत्तानं वलितं चेति स्थानानि तु त्रयोदश ॥ ४२ ॥

कार्याण्येतानि[4] सर्वाणि नामसंस्थानतो नृप ।
मण्डलानीह वैशाखप्रत्यालीढक्रियाक्रमैः ॥ ४३ ॥

समाश्चार्धसमाः पादाः सुस्थितानि चलानि च ।
समासमपदस्थं च द्विविधं स्थानकं भवेत् ॥ ४४ ॥

तद्ज्वायतभूयिष्ठं स्थानं समपदं स्मृतम् ।
मण्डलं च द्वितीयं स्यात्स्थानान्यन्यानि यानि च ॥ ४५ ॥

तान्येकसमपादानि विचित्राणि चलानि च ।
तत्र वैशाखमालीढं प्रत्यालीढ च धन्विनाम् ॥ ४६ ॥

चित्रगोमूत्रकगतं विषमं खड्गचर्मिणाम् ।
चलितं खलितायस्तमालीढैकपदक्रमम् ॥ ४७ ॥

शक्तितोमरपाषाणभिन्दिपालादिधारिणाम् ।
सवल्गितं चक्रशूलगदाकुणपधारिणाम् ॥ ४८ ॥

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1. असंज्ञेयं makes no sense. It is clearly सुसंज्ञेयं
2. दृष्टगत is *abhimukha* or ऋज्वागत
3. अवर्जुं is probably error for अनृजु
4. This is more appropriate than कर्माण्येतानि.

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एकपादसमस्थानं द्वितीयेन तु विह्वलम् ।
शरीरं च सलीलं स्यात्सावष्टम्भैः क्वचिच्छ्रुतम् ॥ ४९ ॥

लीलाविलासविभ्रान्तं विशालजघनस्थलम् ।
स्थिरैकपादविन्यासं स्त्रीरूपं विलिखेद्बुधः ॥ ५० ॥

प्रमाणहीनस्तु जनोऽस्ति भूयान्
कालस्य भावस्य बलात्पृथिव्याम् ।
इति प्रचिन्त्यात्मधिया बुधेन
कार्यं प्रमाणं क्षयवृद्धियोगे ॥ ५१ ॥

इति श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे चित्रसूत्रे क्षयवृध्यध्यायो नाम एकोनचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥ ३९ ॥

चत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ।

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

त्रिप्रकारेष्टकाचूर्णे त्र्यंशं क्षिप्त्वा मृदस्ततः ।
गुग्गुलं समधूच्छिष्टं मधु कुन्दरकं गुडम् ॥ १ ॥

कुसुम्भं तैलसंयुक्तं कृत्वा दद्यात्समांशकम् ।
त्रिभागमग्निदग्धायास्सुधाया[1] स्तत्र चूर्णयेत् ॥ २ ॥

बिल्वजं द्वयंशमिश्रं तत्प्रक्षिप्य मषकं कषम् ।
वालुकांशं ततो दद्यात्स्वानुरूपेण बुद्धिमान् ॥ ३ ॥

ततः कलश[2]तोयेन प्लावयेत्पिच्छिलेन तत्[3] ।
परिक्लिन्नं समग्रं तन्मासमात्रं निधापयेत् ॥ ४ ॥

मार्दवं मासमात्रेण गतमुद्धृत्य यत्नतः ।
दद्यात्प्रलेपं निपुणः शुष्कं कुड्ये विमृश्य तु ॥ ५ ॥

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1. This reading is better than दध्यात्.
2. This is scribe's error to be rectified as कलश for शकल.
3. This is better than तम्.

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श्लक्ष्णं समं स्ववष्टब्धं निम्नोन्नतविनाकृतम् ।
न चातिघनतां नीतं न चाततनुतामपि ॥ ६ ॥

यदा शुष्कं भवेत्कुड्यं तत्प्रलिप्तमसंस्कृतम्[1] ।
तया मृदा सर्जरसतैलभागावियुक्तया[2] ॥ ७ ॥

श्लक्ष्णीकुर्यात्प्रयत्नेन लेपनैः श्लक्ष्णमञ्जनैः ।
मुहुर्मुहुश्च क्षीरेण सिक्त्वा मार्जनयत्नतः ॥ ८ ॥

सद्यः शोषमुपायातं कुड्यं[3] तन्मनुजेश्वर ।
अपि वर्षशतस्यान्ते न प्रणश्येत कर्हिचित् ॥ ९ ॥

अनेनैव प्रकारेण[4] द्विविधैर्वर्णकैर्युताः ।
कर्तव्याश्चित्रवपुषा विविधा मणिभूमयः ॥ १० ॥

कुड्ये शुष्के तिथौ शस्ते ऋक्षे च गणसंयुते ।
चित्रायोगे विशेषेण श्वेतवासा यतात्मवान् ॥ ११ ॥

ब्राह्मणान्पूजयित्वा तु स्वस्ति वाच्य प्रणम्य च ।
तद्विदश्च यथान्यायं गुरूंश्च गुरुवत्सलः ॥ १२ ॥

प्राङ्मुखो देवताध्यायी चित्रकर्म समाचरेत् ।
श्वेतकाद्रवकृष्णाभिर्वर्तिकाभिर्यथाक्रमम् ॥ १३ ॥

श्यामा गौरी तथा तस्य छविः[5] स्यात्तां प्रदर्शयेत् ।
तस्याश्च लक्षणं प्रोक्तं प्राङ्मया नृप विस्तरे ॥ १५ ॥

मूलरङ्गाः स्मृताः पञ्च श्वेतः पीतो विलोहितः[6] ।
कृष्णो नीलश्च राजेन्द्र शतशोऽन्तरतः स्मृताः ॥ १६ ॥

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1. Since smoothcning is mentioned next, it should be here असंस्कृत, असत्कृतम् does not convey the sense.
2. The whole of it from सर्जरसतैलभागाभियुक्तया is one word, सर्जरसा is ungrammatical and should not be separated.
3. कुड्यं तन्मनुजेश्वर is the better reading as कुड्यं is the word.
4. It may be वि instead द्वि as it fits विविधा better.
5. छवी स्यात् is incorrect, there is the corrcct reading छविः also.
6. विलोहितः is the correct reading, not विलोमतः. It is clearly a scribe's error and makes no sense. विलोहित or red is one of the principal colours.

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पूर्वं रङ्गविभागेन भावकल्पनया तथा ।
स्वबुद्धया कारयेद्रङ्गं शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ॥ १७ ॥

नीलपीतव्ययिकृतिः पलाश इति शस्यते ।
स शुद्धः श्वेतमिश्रश्च नीलाभ्यधिक एव च ॥ १८ ॥

एकाधिकं च भवति छवीनामनुरूपतः ।
श्वेताधिको वा न्यूनो वा समांशश्चेति स त्रिधा ॥ १९ ॥

स एकस्तम्भनायुक्तो बहुधैवं विकल्प्यते ।
तेन दूर्वाङ्कुरापीतकपित्थहरिताः[1] स्मृताः ॥ २० ॥

मुद्गश्यामप्रभृतयः[2] कर्तव्याश्छवयो नृप ।
नीलः पाण्डुरसंपृक्तो विरङ्गः सोऽप्यनेकधा ॥ २१ ॥

अन्योन्याभ्यधिकं न्यूनं[3] समांशं वांशकल्पना[4] ।
तेन नीलोत्पलनिभा माषसच्छायसुप्रभा ॥ २२ ॥

क्रियन्ते छवयो रम्या यथायोगविनिश्चयात् ।
लाक्षया श्वेतया युक्ता लाक्षारोध्रपिनद्धया ॥ २३ ॥

रक्ता रक्तोत्पलश्यामा छविर्भवति शोभना ।
सापि नानाविधानन्यान्वर्णान्विकुरुते बहून् ॥ २४ ॥

रङ्गद्रव्याणि कनकं रजतं ताम्रमेव च ।
अभ्रकं राजवर्तं च सिन्दूरं त्रपुरेव च ॥ २५ ॥

हरितालं सुधा लाक्षा तथा हिङ्गुलकं नृप ।
नीलं च मनुजश्रेष्ठ तथाऽन्ये सन्त्यनेकशः ॥ २६ ॥

देशे देशे महाराज कार्यास्ते स्तम्भनायुताः ।
लोहानां पत्रविन्यासं भवेद्वापि रसक्रिया ॥ २७ ॥

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1. It should be one for a plural ending and for conveying the sense of a variety of colour. The reading दूर्वाङ्कुरापीतः and कपित्थहरिताः cannot go together.
2. It should be प्रभृतयः and not प्रकृतयः.
3. must be न्यून and not नून.
4. It should be समांशं and other smaller proportions, अंशकल्पना, समांशवशकल्पना is not easily construed

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संकटं लोहविन्यस्तमभ्रकं द्रावणं भवेत् ।
एवं भवति लोहानां लेखने कर्मयोग्यता ॥ २८ ॥

अभ्रकद्रावणं प्रोक्तं सुरसेन्द्रजभूमिजे ।
चर्मक्वाथोऽथ[1] बकुलनिर्य्यासस्तम्भनाद्भवेत् ।
सर्वेषामेव रङ्गाणां सिन्दूरक्षीर इष्यते ॥ २९ ॥

मातङ्गदूर्वारसपट्टवद्धैः संस्तम्भितं चित्रमुदारपुच्छैः ।
धौतं जलेनापि न नाशमेति[2] तिष्ठत्यनेकान्यपि वत्सराणि ॥ ३० ॥

इति श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे रङ्गव्यतिकरो नाम चत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥ ४० ॥

एकचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ।

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

सत्यं च वैणिकं चैव नागरं मिश्रमेव च ।
चित्रं चतुर्विधं प्रोक्तं तस्य वक्ष्यामि लक्षणम् ॥ १ ॥

यत्किञ्चिल्लोकसादृश्यं चित्रं तत्सत्यमुच्यते ।
दीर्घाङ्गं सप्रमाणं च सुकुमारं सुभूमिकम् ॥ २ ॥

चतुरस्रं सुसंपूर्णं न दीर्घं नोल्बणाकृति ।
प्रमाणस्थानलम्बाढ्यं वैणिकं तन्निगद्यते ॥ ३ ॥

दृढोपचितसर्वाङ्गं वर्तुलं न घनोल्बणम् ।
चित्रं तन्नागरं ज्ञेयं स्वल्पमाल्यविभूषणम् ॥ ४ ॥

चित्रं[3] मिश्रं समाख्यातं समासान्मनुजोत्तम ।
तिस्रश्च वर्तनाः प्रोक्ताः पत्ररैखिकबिन्दुजाः[4] ॥ ५ ॥

पत्राकृतिभी रेखाभिः कथिता पत्रवर्तना ।
अतीव कथिता सूक्ष्मा तथा रैखिकवर्तना[5] ॥ ६ ॥

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1. बकुलनिर्यास is better than बकुलान्निर्यास.
2. नाशमेति should be the reading as नाशयेत is faulty and makes no sense.
3. It should be seperated चित्रं and मिश्रं, not चित्रमिश्रं.

4,5. It should read as here shown. हैविक makes no sense. But we know that रैखिक is an accepted mode like बिंदुज. हैरिक has an obscure meaning 'thief'. If the shading is so subtle as be elusive हरिक may be accepted with a pinch of doubt.

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तथा च स्तम्भनायुक्ता कथिता बिन्दुवर्तना ।
दौर्बल्यं बिन्दुरेखात्वमविभक्तत्वमेव घ ॥ ७ ॥

बृहद्गण्डौष्ठनेत्रत्वं संविरुद्धत्वमेव च ।
मानवाकारता चेति चित्रदोषाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ ८ ॥

स्थानप्रमाणभूलम्भो मधुरत्वं विभक्तता ।
सादृश्यं क्षयवृद्धी च गुणाश्चित्रस्य कीर्तिताः ॥ ९ ॥

रेखा च वर्तना चैव भूषणं वर्णमेव च ।
विज्ञेया[1] मनुजश्रेष्ठ चित्रकर्मसु भूषणम् ॥ १० ॥

रेखां प्रशंसन्त्याचार्या वर्तनां च विचक्षणाः ।
स्त्रियो भूषणमिच्छन्ति वर्णाढ्यमितरे जनाः ॥ ११ ॥

इति मत्वा तथा[2] यत्नः[3] कर्तव्यश्चित्रकर्मणि ।
सर्वस्य चित्रग्रहणं यथा स्यान्ममुजोत्तम ॥ १२ ॥

दुरासनं दुरानीतं पिपासा चान्यचित्तता ।
एते चित्रविनाशस्य हेतवः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ १३ ॥

स्वनुलिप्तावकाशा[4] च निर्दशमशका[5] शुभा ।
सुप्रसन्नाभिगुप्ता च भूमिः स्याच्चित्रकर्मणि ॥ १४ ॥

सुस्निग्धविस्पष्टमजिह्मरेखं[6] विद्वान्यथादेशविशेषवेशम् ।
प्रमाणशोभाभिरहीयमानं कृतं भवेच्चित्रमतीव चित्रम् ॥ १५ ॥

इति श्रीविष्णुधम्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे रङ्गवर्तना नाम एकचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥ ४१ ॥

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1. विज्ञेया is better reading as it exists and need not be emended into विज्ञेयं.
2. In view of यथा in the next line it is to be clearly तथा here.
3. यत्नः is the correct reading going with कर्तव्यः. The reading यत्नं is wrong.
4. स्वानुलिप्त is obviously wrong and should be स्वनुलिप्त.
5. It is मशक and not मषक.
6. The characteristic of a line is its straight easy flow and not colour. This is better reading than सुवर्णरेखं.

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द्विचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ।

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

यथा देवास्तथा चित्रे कर्तव्याः पृथिवीश्वराः ।
एकैकं रूपके लोकः[1] कर्तव्यः[2] पृथिवीक्षिताम् ॥ १ ॥

ऋषयश्च सगन्धर्वा दैत्याश्च सह दानवैः ।
मन्त्रिणश्च महाराज सांवत्सरपुरोहितौ ॥ २ ॥

कार्या भद्रप्रमाणेन ब्राह्मणाश्च नरेश्वर ।
ऋषयस्तत्र कर्तव्या जटाजूटोपशोभिताः ॥ ३ ॥

कृष्णाजिनोत्तरासङ्गा दुर्बलास्तेजसान्विताः ।
देवताश्चापि गन्धर्वा मुकुटेन विवर्जिताः ॥ ४ ॥

कर्तव्यास्ते महाराज शिखरैरुपशोभिताः ।
ब्रह्मवर्चस्विनो विप्राः शुक्लाम्बरधरास्तथा ॥ ५ ॥

मन्त्रिणश्च महाराज सांवत्सरपुरोहितौ ।
सर्वालंकारसंयुक्ता नैवोल्वणविभूषणाः ॥ ६ ॥

मुकुटेन विहीनांस्तु सोष्णीषान्कारयेच्च तान् ।
दैत्याश्च दानवाश्चैव कर्तव्या भ्रुकुटीमुखाः ॥ ७ ॥

वर्तुलाक्षास्तथा कार्या भीमवक्त्रास्तथैव च ।
तेषामत्युद्धतो[3] वेशः कर्तव्यः पृथिवीपते ॥ ८ ॥

भद्रप्रमाणाः कर्तव्यास्तथा विद्याधरा नृप ।
सपत्नीकाश्च ते कार्या माल्यालंकारधारिणः ॥ ९ ॥

खड्गहस्ताश्च ते कार्या गगने वाथवा भुवि ।
मालव्यपरिमाणेन किन्नरोरगराक्षसाः ॥ १० ॥

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1. The reading लोमं is wrong. It should be लोकः. The painting of hair one by one appears very queer. It is probably लोकः as पृथिवीक्षितां लोकः meaning the whole class of kings.
2. Hence it follows that this word is कर्तव्यः, not कर्तव्यम्.
3. अत्युद्धत is better reading than अभ्युद्धत.

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रुचकस्य प्रमाणेन यक्षाः कार्या नराधिप ।
शशकस्य प्रमाणेन प्रधानं मानवं लिखेत् ।। ११ ।।

पिशाचा वामनाः कुब्जाः प्रमथाश्च महाभुज ।[1]
मानानियमतः[2] कार्या रूपानियमतस्तथा ।। १२ ।।

स्वानुरूपप्रमाणाश्च सर्वेषां योषितः स्मृताः ।
किन्नरा द्विविधाः प्रोक्ता नृवक्त्रा ह्यविग्रहाः ।। १३ ।।

नृदेहाश्चाश्ववक्त्राश्च तथान्ये परिकीर्तिताः ।
अश्ववक्त्रास्तु कर्तव्याः सर्वालंकारधारिणः ।। १४ ।।

गीतवाद्यसमायुक्ता द्युतिमन्तस्तथैव च ।
उत्कचा राक्षसाः कार्या विकृताक्षा विभीषणाः ।। १५ ।।

देवाकाराश्च कर्तव्या नागाः फणविराजिताः ।
सालंकाराः स्मृताः सर्वे यक्षास्तेऽभिहिता मया ।। १६ ।।

सुराणां प्रमथाः कार्याः प्रमाणेन विवर्जिताः[3] ।
पिशाचाश्च तथा कार्याः प्रमाणेनैव वर्जिताः ।। १७ ।।

नानासत्वमुखाः कार्या देवतानां तथा गणाः ।
नानावेशा महाराज नानायुधधरास्तथा ।। १८ ।।

नानाक्रीड़ाप्रसक्ताश्च नानाकर्मकरास्तथा ।
एकरूपास्तु कर्तव्या वैष्णवास्तु तथा गणाः ।। १९ ।।

तत्रापि तेषां कर्तव्या भेदाश्चत्वार एव च ।
वासुदेवसमाः कार्या वासुदेवगणाः शुभाः ।। २० ।।

संकर्षणेन सदृशास्तद्गणाश्च तथा स्मृताः ।
प्रद्युम्नेनानिरुद्धेन तद्गणाः सदृशास्तथा ।। २१ ।।

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1. महीभुजः would mean there is no definite proportion for kings. This is contradictory to earlier statements of *māna*. It is just addressed to Vajra as 'valorous'.

2. मानानियमतः should be the reading just as रूपानियमतः, meaning no definite proportion.

3. This reading which relieves the monotony of repetition may be preferred.

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तत्प्रभावाः स्मृताः सर्वे तदायुधधरास्तथा ।
नीलोत्पलदलश्यामाश्चन्द्रशुभ्रास्तथैव च ।। २२ ।।

तथा मरकताकाराः सिन्दूरसदृशप्रभाः ।
रुचकस्य तु मानेन वेश्याः कार्यास्तथा स्त्रियः ।। २३ ।।

वेशानामुद्धतं वेशं कार्यं शृङ्गारसम्मतम् ।
मालब्यमानतः कार्या लज्जावत्यः कुलस्त्रियः ।। २४ ।।

नात्युन्नतेन वेशेन सालंकारास्तथैव च ।
दैत्यदानवयक्षाणां राक्षसानां तथैव च ।। २५ ।।

रूपवत्यस्तथा कार्याः पत्न्यो मनुजसत्तम ।
मातरः स्वेन रूपेण तेषां कार्या नराधिप ।। २६ ।।

पिशाचानां तु पत्न्योऽपि कार्यास्तद्रूपसंयुता ।
विभर्तृकास्तु कर्तव्याः स्त्रियः पलितसंयुताः ।। २७ ।।

शुक्लवस्त्रपरीधानाः सर्वालंकारवर्जिताः ।[1]
कुब्जा वामनिका वृद्धा तथा रूपवती भवेत् ।। २८ ।।

राजस्त्रीनां परीवारे वृद्धः स्यात्कञ्चुकी पुनः ।
रुचकस्य तु मानेन वैश्यमानं विधीयते ।। २९ ।।

शशकस्य तु मानेन शूद्रमानं तथैव च ।
यथाजात्यनुरूपेण वेषेण मनुजेश्वर ।। ३० ।।

दैत्यादियोषितां कार्याः परिचारस्त्रियः सदा ।
महाशिरा महोरस्को महानासो महाहनुः ।। ३१ ।।

पीनस्कन्धभुजग्रीवः परिमाणेन चोच्छ्रितः ।
त्रितरङ्गललाटश्च श्येनदृष्टिर्महाकटिः ।। ३२ ।।

दृप्तश्चित्रविदा कार्यः सेनायाः पतिरूर्जितः ।
योधाः कार्या महाराज प्रायशो भ्रुकुटीमुखाः ।। ३३ ।।

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1. If *visarga* is to be retained for परीधानाः, सर्वालंकार is required. This reading is preferable to नानालङ्कार.

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किञ्चिदुद्धतवेशाश्य कार्याश्योद्धतदर्शनाः ।
अभ्युद्गताश्च कर्तव्या आयुधीया पदातयः ॥ ३४ ॥

खड्गवर्मधराः कार्याः कर्णाटकवपुर्धराः ।
वरबाणधराः कार्या नग्नजंघाश्च धन्विनः ॥ ३५ ॥

नात्युद्धतेन वेशेन सोपानत्कास्तथैव ते ।
यथोक्तलक्षणाः कार्याः कुञ्जरास्तुरगादयः ॥ ३६ ॥

हस्त्यारोहास्तु कर्तव्या[1] मुद्गश्यामास्तु वर्णतः ।
केशैश्च जूटसरैः सालङ्कारास्तथैव ते ॥ ३७ ॥

उदीच्यवेशाः कर्तव्यास्तुरगाणां तु सादिनः ।
उद्धतेन तु वेशेन कर्तव्या बन्दिनस्तथा ॥ ३८ ॥

सिरादर्शितकण्ठाश्च तथैवोन्मुखदृष्टयः ।
आह्वानकास्तु कर्तव्याः कपिलाः केकरेक्षणाः ॥ ३९ ॥

किञ्चिद्दानवसंकाशाः प्रांशवो दण्डपाणयः ।
न केकरान्न कपिलान्युद्धे द्वन्द्वान्समालिखेत् ॥ ४० ॥

नात्युद्धतेन वेशेन न च शान्तेन शस्यते ।
पार्श्वबद्धेन खड्गेन प्रतीहारस्तु दण्डवान् ॥ ४१ ॥

संवेष्टितशिरस्काश्च कर्तव्या वणिजस्तथा ।
गायका[2] नर्तका ये च वाद्यवादविशुद्धये ॥ ४२ ॥

उद्धतेन तु वेषेण कार्यास्ते मनुजोत्तम ।
आसन्नपलिताः कार्याः सुभूषणविभूषिताः ॥ ४३ ॥

पौरजानपदाः श्रेष्ठाः शुभ्रवस्त्रविभूषणाः ।
प्रसृतप्रवणाः प्रह्वाः स्वभावप्रियदर्शनाः ॥ ४४ ॥

स्वकर्मोपस्करव्यग्रः कार्यः कर्यकरो जनः ।
प्रांशवः पीनगात्राश्च पीनग्रीवशिरोधराः ॥ ४५ ॥

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1. The *visarga* of कर्तव्याः has to be omitted when it is followed by मुद्गश्यामाः.
2. Obviously it should be गायक and not गायन.

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उदग्रा नीचकेशाश्च मल्लाः कार्यास्तथोद्धताः ।
वृषाः केसरिणश्चैव याश्चान्या सत्वजातयः ।। ४६ ।।

यथा भूमिनिवेशास्ते लोकं दृष्ट्वा नराधिप ।
एतद्रूपसमुद्देशमदृष्टानां तवेरितम् ।। ४७ ।।

दृष्टं सुसदृशं कार्यं सर्वेषामविशेषतः ।
चित्रे सादृश्यकरणं प्रधानं परिकीर्तितम् ।। ४८ ।।

बुध्द्वा रूपं यथावेशं वर्णं च मनुजोत्तम ।
देशे देशे नराः कार्या यथावत्तत्समुद्भवाः ।। ४९ ।।

देशं नियोगं स्थानं च कर्म बुध्द्वा च यत्नतः ।
आसनं शयनं यानं वेशं कार्यं नराधिप ।। ५० ।।

सरितां सशरीराणां वाहनानि प्रदर्शयेत् ।
पूर्णकुम्भकराः कार्यास्तथा नमितजानवः ।। ५१ ।।

शैलानां शिखरं मूध्नि दर्शयेन्मनुजोत्तम ।
द्वीपानां च करे कार्यं तथा भूमण्डलं शुभम् ।। ५२ ।।

पर्वताश्च तथा राजंस्तथा शिखरपाणयः ।
रत्नपात्रकराः कार्याः सागरा मनुजोत्तम ।। ५३ ।।

समुद्राणां प्रभास्थाने सलिलं तु प्रदर्शयेत् ।
आयुधानां तु तच्चिह्नं किञ्चिन्मूर्धनि दर्शयेत् ।। ५४ ।।

निधीनां दर्शयेत्कुम्भं शङ्खं शङ्खस्य दर्शयेत् ।
पद्मं पद्मस्य राजेन्द्र शेषाणामनुरूपतः ।। ५५ ।।

कार्यस्यावयवाः कार्याः सदेहाः सदृशाः पृथक् ।
दिव्यानां दर्शयेच्चिह्नं मक्षमालां च पुस्तकम् ।। ५६ ।।

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि रूपं यद्यस्य दृश्यते ।
आकाशं दर्शयेद्विद्वान्विवर्णं खगसंकुलम्[1]।। ५७ ।।

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1. It should be खगसंकुलम् and not खगमाकुलम् as the latter conveys no sense.

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तथैव दर्शयेद्राजंस्तारकामण्डितं दिवम् ।
भूमिं च जाङ्गलानूपमिश्रां स्वैः स्वैस्तथा गुणैः ॥ ५८ ॥

पर्वतं तु शिलाजालैः शिखरैर्धातुभिर्द्रुमैः ।
निर्झरैर्भुजगैश्चैव दर्शयेन्नृपसत्तम ॥ ५९ ॥

वनं नानाविधैर्वृक्षैर्विहङ्गैः श्वापदैस्तथा ।
तोयं च दर्शयेद्विद्वाननन्तैर्मत्स्यकच्छपैः ॥ ६० ॥

पद्माक्षैश्च महाराज तथान्यैर्जलजैर्गुणैः ।
देवतावेश्मभिश्चित्रैः प्रासादापणवेश्मभिः ॥ ६१ ॥

नगरं दर्शयेद्विद्वान्रजमार्गैश्च शोभनैः ।
वसत्या दर्शयेद्ग्रामं किञ्चिदुद्यानभूषितम् ॥ ६२ ॥

सर्वेषामथ दुर्गाणां कर्तव्यं दर्शनं तथा ।
सभूमिविनिवेशेन[1] वप्राट्टालकपर्वतैः ॥ ६३ ॥

पण्ययुक्तास्तु कर्तव्यास्तथैवापणभूमयः ।
आपानभूमिः कर्तव्या पानयुक्ता नराकुला ॥ ६४ ॥

उत्तरीयविहीनांश्च द्यूतसक्तान्प्रदर्शयेत् ।
जिताञ्शोकसमायुक्तान्हृष्टान् लब्धजयांस्तथा ॥ ६५ ॥

चतुरङ्गबलोपेतां प्रहरद्भिर्नरैर्युताम् ।
मृतावयवरक्ताढ्यां रणभूमिं प्रदर्शयेत् ॥ ६६ ॥

चिताकुणपसंयुक्तं श्मशानं च तथा नृप ।
युक्तं सभारैरुष्ट्राद्यैर्मार्गं सार्थं प्रदर्शयेत् ॥ ६७ ॥

सचन्द्रग्रहनक्षत्रां तथा दर्शितलौकिकाम् ।
आसन्नतस्करां रात्रिं दर्शयेत्सुप्तमानवाम् ॥ ६८ ॥

प्राग्रात्रे दर्शयेत्तत्र तथा चैवाभिसारिकाम् ।
सारुणो ल्मानदीपश्च प्रत्यूषो रुतकुक्कुटः ॥ ६९ ॥

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1. सभूमिविनिवेशेन is better than सुभूमिविनिवेशेन.

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कर्मव्यग्रजनप्रायः कर्तव्यो वा नरस्तथा[1] ।
द्विजैर्नियमिभिर्युक्तां रक्तां सन्ध्यां प्रदर्शयेत् ॥ ७० ॥

तमसो दर्शनं कार्यं हस्तसंसर्पकैर्नरैः ।
कुमुदानां विकासे च ज्योत्स्नां चन्द्रे प्रदर्शयेत् ॥ ७१ ॥

दर्शयेत्सरजस्यां च शय्यां पर्णोत्करावृताम् ।
संपृक्तमानवप्रायां[2] वृष्टिं वृष्ट्या[3] प्रदर्शयेत् ॥ ७२ ॥

प्राणिनां क्लेशतप्तानामादित्येन निदर्शयेत् ।
वृक्षैर्वसन्तजैः फुल्लैः कोकिलामधुपोत्कटैः ॥ ७३ ॥

प्रहृष्टनरनारीकं वसन्तं तु प्रदर्शयेत् ।
क्लान्तैः कार्यं नरैर्ग्रीष्मं मृगैश्छायागतैस्तथा ॥ ७४ ॥

महिषैः पङ्कसंलीनैस्तथा शुष्कनलाशयम् ।
विहङ्गैर्द्रुमसंलीनैः सिंहव्याघ्रैर्गुहागतैः ॥ ७५ ॥

तोयनम्रघनैर्युक्तं सेन्द्रचापविभूषणैः ।
विद्युद्विद्योतनैर्युक्तां प्रावृषं दर्शयेत्तथा ॥ ७६ ॥

सफलद्रुमसंयुक्तां पक्वसस्यां वसुन्धराम् ।
सहंसपद्मसलिलां शरदं तु तथा[4] लिखेत् ॥ ७७ ॥

सबाष्पसलिलस्थानं तथा लूनवसुन्धरम् ।
सनीहारदिगन्तं च हेमन्तं दर्शयेद्बुधः ॥ ७८ ॥

हृष्टवायसमातङ्गं शीतार्तजनसंकुलम् ।
शिशिरं तु लिखेद्विद्वान् हिमच्छन्नदिगन्तरम् ॥ ७९ ॥

वृक्षाणां पुष्पफलतः प्राणिनां मदतस्था ।
ऋतूनां दर्शनं कार्यं लोकान् दृष्ट्वा नराधिप ॥ ८० ॥

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1. The reading वानर has earlier misled and resulted in the mention of a monkey to suggest morning. The correct reading removes the error.

2. The currupt reading सद्वृत्तमानवप्रायाः that makes no sense in the context of rain should probably be संपृक्तमानवप्रायां or संसिक्तमानवप्राया or सक्लिन्नमानवप्रायां.

3. वृष्ट्या is better reading than वृष्ट्यां.

4. तथा is better than तदा.

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रसभावाश्च कर्तव्या यथापूर्वमुदाहृताः ।
यथायोगं तु युञ्जीत नृत्ताभिहितमत्र च ॥ ८१ ॥

शुष्कं वर्तनया यत्तु[1] चित्रं तन्मध्यमं स्मृतम् ।
शुष्कार्द्रमधमं प्रोक्तं चार्द्रमेव तथोत्तमम् ॥ ८२ ॥

यथादेशं यथाकाल यथादेहं यथावयः ।
क्रियमाणं भवेद्धन्यं विपरीतमतोऽन्यथा ॥ ८३ ॥

इति विचक्षणबुद्धिविकल्पितैः करणकान्ति विलासरसादिभिः ।
लिखितमीक्षणलोचनमादराद्भवति चित्रमभीप्सितकामदम् ॥ ८४ ॥

इति श्रीविष्णुधर्म्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे रूपनिर्माणं नाम 'द्विचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥ ४२ ॥

त्रिचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ।

मार्कण्डेय उवाच—

शृङ्गारहास्यकरूणवीररौद्रभयानकाः ।
बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च नव चित्रे[2] रसाः स्मृताः ॥ १ ॥

तत्र यत्कान्तिलावण्यलेखामाधुर्यसुन्दरम् ।
विदग्धवेशाभरणं शृङ्गारे तु रसे भवेत् ॥ २ ॥

यत्कुब्जवामनप्रायमीषद्विकटदर्शनम् ।
वृथा च हस्तं सङ्कोच्य तत्स्याद्धास्यकरे[3] रसे ॥ ३ ॥

याञ्चाविरहसंत्यागविक्रयव्यसनादिषु ।
अनुकम्पितकं यत्स्याल्लिखेत्तत्करुणे रसे ॥ ४ ॥

पारुष्यविकृतिक्रोधविशस्यार्थोक्त[4]दूषणम् ।
दीप्रशस्त्राहननवत्कृतं[5] रौद्रे रसे भवेत् ॥ ५ ॥

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1. It should be यत्तु and not यस्तु as चित्र is neuter.
2. It should be चित्रे रसाः as in नाट्ये रसाः and not चित्ररसाः.
3. हास्यकरे रसे is better reading than हास्यकरं रसे.
4. ...विशस्त्यर्थान्नदूषणम् makes no sense. It may mean hot and cutting remarks rousing terrible anger and consequences. The contrast is anticipated in the next line.
5. दीप्रशस्त्राभरणवत् has no sense to offer. It may be शस्त्राहननवत्.

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प्रतिज्ञागर्भशौर्यादिष्वर्थेष्वौदार्यदर्शनम् ।
सस्मयं सभ्रुकुटिवद्वीरं वीररसेऽद्भुतम् ॥ ६ ॥

दुष्टदुर्दर्शनोन्मत्तहिंस्रव्यापादकादि यत् ।
तत्स्याद्भयानकरसे प्रयोगे चित्रकर्मणः ॥ ७ ॥

श्मशानगर्हिताघातकरणं स्थानदारुणम्[3] ।
यच्चित्रं चित्रविज्जुष्टं[2] तद्बीभत्सरसोद्भवम् ॥ ८ ॥

यदा विनीतरोमाञ्चचिन्ताक्षुण्णमुखानतम्[3] ।
प्रदर्शयति चान्योन्यं तदद्भुतरसाश्रयम् ॥ ९ ॥

यद्यत्सौम्याकृतिध्यानधारणासनबन्धनम् ।
तपस्विजनभूयिष्ठं तत्तु शान्ते रसे भवेत् ॥ १० ॥

शृङ्गारहास्यशान्ताख्या लेखनीया गृहेषु ते ।
परशेषा न कर्तव्या कदाचिदपि कस्यचित् ॥ ११ ॥

देववेश्मनि कर्तव्या रसाः सर्वे नृपालये ।
राजवेश्मनि नो कार्या राज्ञां वासगृहेषु ते ॥ १२ ॥

सभावेश्मसु कर्तव्या राज्ञां सर्वरसा गृहे ।
वर्जयित्वा सभां राज्ञो देववेश्म तथैव च ॥ १३ ॥

युद्धस्मशानकरुणामृतदुःखार्तकुत्सितान् ।
अमङ्गल्यांश्च न लिखेत्कदाचिदपि वेश्मसु ॥ १४ ॥

निधिशृङ्गान्वृषान्राजन्निधिहस्तान्मतङ्गजान् ।
निधीन्विद्याधरान् राजन् ऋषयो गरुडस्तथा ॥ १५ ॥

हनूमांश्च सुमङ्गल्या ये च लोके प्रकीर्तिताः ।
लिखितव्या महाराज गृहेषु सततं नृणाम् ॥ १६ ॥

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1. स्थानदारुण is better than स्थानदर्शित.
2. The reading चित्रवच्छ्रेष्ठं is not clear. The reading चित्रविच्छ्रेष्ठं is equally vague. The conjunct consonant may be ज्जु when it makes sense.
3. The reading रोमञ्चश्चिततार्क्ष्यमुखानतम् does not convey any sense, The scribe's error in रोमाञ्चाचितार्तक्षुणमुखानतम् should be corrected somewhat as suggested.

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चित्रकर्म न कर्तव्यमात्मना स्वगृहे नृप ।
दौर्बल्यं स्थूलरेखत्वमविभक्तत्वमेव च ।। १७ ।।

बृहद्गण्डौष्ठनेत्रत्वं वक्ररेखत्वमेव च ।
वर्णानां सङ्करश्चात्र चित्रदोषाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।। १८ ।।

स्थानं प्रमाणं भूलम्भो मधुरत्वं विभक्तता ।
सादृश्यं क्षयवृद्धी च गुणाष्टकमिदं स्मृतम् ।। १९ ।।

स्थानहीनं गतरसं शून्यदृष्टिमलीमसम् ।
चेतनारहितं यत्स्यात्तदशस्तं प्रकीर्तितम् ।। २० ।।

लसतीव च भूलम्भो श्लिष्यतीव तथा नृप ।
हसतीव च माधुर्यं सजीव इव दृश्यते ।। २१ ।।

सश्वास इव यच्चित्रं तच्चित्रं शुभलक्षणम् ।
हीनाङ्गं मलिनं शून्यं बद्धव्याधिभयाकुलैः ।। २२ ।।

वृत्तं प्रकीर्णकेशैश्च सुमङ्गल्यैर्विवर्जयेत् ।
प्रतीतं च लिखेद्धीमान्नाप्रतीतं[1] कथञ्चन ।। २३ ।।

शास्त्रज्ञैः सुकृतैर्दक्षैश्चित्रं हि मनुजाधिप ।
श्रियमावहति क्षिप्रमलक्ष्मीं चापकर्षति ।। २४ ।।

निर्नेजयति चोत्कण्ठां निरुणद्ध्यागताशुभम्[2] ।
शुद्धां प्रथयति प्रीतिं जनयत्यतुलामपि ।। २५ ।।

दुःस्वप्नदर्शनं हन्ति प्रीणाति गृहदेवताम् ।
न च शून्यमिवाभाति यत्र चित्रं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।। २६ ।।

धर्मार्थकामशुभदं कर्णं चाप्यनलंकृतम् ।
शल्यविद्धं च वृद्धं च यः करोति स चित्रवित् ।। २७ ।।

---

1. अप्रतीतं is better reading than अप्रतीतेः.
2. अशुभं निरुणद्धि is better than the emendation न रुणद्धि.

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तरङ्गाग्निशिखाधूमं वैजयन्त्यम्बरादिकम्[1] ।
वायुगत्या लिखेद्यस्तु विज्ञेयः स तु चित्रवित् ।। २८ ।।

सुप्तं च चेतनायुक्त मृतं चैतन्यवर्जितम् ।
निम्नोन्नतविभागं च यः करोति स चित्रवित् ।। २९ ।।

एतेषां खलु सर्वेषामानुलोम्यं प्रशस्यते ।
सम्मुखत्वमथैतेषां चित्रे यत्नाद्विवर्जयेत् ।। ३० ।।

यथा चित्रं तथैवोक्तं खातपूर्वं नराधिप ।
सुवर्णरूप्यताम्रादि तच्च लोकेषु दर्शयेत् ।। ३१ ।।

शिलादारुषु लोहेषु प्रतिमाकरणं भवेत् ।
अनेनैव विधानेन यथा चित्रमुदाहृतम् ।। ३२ ।।

तथानेन विधानेन पुस्तकर्म विधीयते ।
द्विविधं तच्च कथितं घनं सुषिरमेव च ।। ३३ ।।

घनैर्लोहैः शिलाभिश्च दारुमृद्भिः सदा भवेत् ।
चर्णमा सुषिरः[2] कार्यो दारुलोहैस्तथैव च ।। ३४ ।।

देयो मृत्तिकया लेपः पुस्ते चर्मकृते दृढम् ।
स्यूतेऽनेन[3] विधानेन चित्रं[4] वस्त्रे तथालिखेत् ।। ३५ ।।

एतदुद्देशमात्रेण यदा ते कथितं नृप ।
अशक्यो विस्तराद्वक्तुं बहुवर्षशतैरपि ।। ३६ ।।

यदत्र नोक्तं तन्नृत्ताद्विज्ञेयं वसुधाधिप ।
नृत्तेऽपि नोक्तं तच्चित्रात्तत्र योज्यं नराधिप ।। ३७ ।।

---

1. वैजयन्त्यं वरादिकम् makes on sense.
2. It should read सुषिर and not सुशिर.
3. It should read स्यूते and not सूत्र meaning joined or covered with cloth.
4. There should be an *anusvāra* over त्रं and it should be not चित्रवस्त्रं but चित्रं वस्त्रे which alone makes sense.

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कलानां प्रवरं चित्रं धर्मकामार्थमोक्षदम् ।
मङ्गल्यं परमं चैतद्गृहे यत्र प्रतिष्ठितम् ।। ३८ ।।

यथा सुमेरुः प्रवरो नगानां यथाण्डजानां गरुडः प्रधानः ।
यथा नराणां प्रवरः क्षितीशस्तथा कलानामिह चित्रकल्पः ।। ३९ ।।

इति श्रीविष्णुधम्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयवज्रसंवादे शृङ्गारादिभावयुक्तादि नाम त्रिचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ।।४३।।

समाप्तं चित्रसूत्रम् ।

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CHITRASŪTRA

CHAPTER 35

Mārkaṇḍeya spoke thus —

1-2 And now I shall expound to you, oh peerless prince! the principles of art. *Chitrasūtra* was produced long ago by the sage Nārāyaṇa for the benefit of the world when he created Urvaśī to mislead the celestial damsels that approached him.

3 The great sage used mango juice to create a peerless nymph by drawing a picture on his thigh, whence she issued as an exquisite Apasara endowed with great beauty.

4-5 Ashamed as they beheld her, all the celestial damsels went back. Having thus created a picture perfect in all its definition and principles of portrayal, the great sage made the unerring Viśvakarmā receive this knowledge. As in dance, so in art, the three worlds are closely followed.

6-7 The glances, the moods, the limbs and all their auxiliaries, the disposition of hands already defined by me in dance, all these are to be known as existing in art as well, as dance is art supreme. Whatever definitions have not been explained in dance, I shall now narrate, as you listen.

8 There are five varieties of men, Haṁsa, Bhadra, Mālavya, Ruchaka and Śaśaka. I shall now define them.

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9-11 These have all equally proportionate height and width in terms of their own individual *aṅgula*, finger. Haṁsa is 108 *aṅgulas* in measurement in terms of his own *aṅgula*, Bhadra is similarly 106 *aṅgulas*, Mālavya is 104 *aṅgulas*, Ruchaka is 100 *aṅgulas*, and Śaśaka 90 *aṅgulas*. A length of twelve *aṅgulas* is described as *tāla*.

12 The height of the foot up to the ankle is a fourth of a *tāla*. The shank is two *tālas* and the knee has the same measurement as the foot.

13 The thighs are of the measurement of the shanks. From the penis to the navel is a *tāla*. It is the same measurement from the navel to the chest and similarly from the chest to the neck.

14 The neck is one third of a *tāla*, and the face is a *tāla*. The height of the head above the forehead is a sixth of a *tāla*.

15 Centrally placed is the penis. Thus is height defined. The *tāla* measures a hand (palm). The arms are seventeen *aṅgulas* each.

16 The forearm is of similar length. Half the chest is eight *aṅgulas*. This is the measurement in terms of length for a Haṁsa.

17 In this manner measurements have to be arrived at for the others (Bhadra, Mālavya, etc.). In length and breadth all are computed in a similar fashion.

18 The general proportions of a princely Haṁsa have thus been stated by me. Now listen to the measurements of individual limbs as I narrate.

Thus ends the 35th chapter on the Measurements of Length and Height in the Treatise on Painting from the conversation between Mārkaṇḍeya and Vajra in the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

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Chapter 36

Mārkaṇḍeya spoke —

Now the limbs are treated separately. The girth of the head is 32 *aṅgulas*. The forehead is four *aṅgulas* in height and eight in length. The temples are four *aṅgulas* in height. The cheeks are five *aṅgulas*. The chin is four *aṅgulas*. The ears are two *aṅgulas* wide and four in length, the centre of the ear is an *aṅgula*. The lobe from the root of the ear cavity is undefined in length. *Pāli* is the word for the earlobe. The nose is four *aṅgulas*, two *aṅgulas* in depth and three *aṅgulas* in width. The nostrils are an *aṅgula* wide and twice that in length. The space between the nose and the lip is half an *aṅgula*. The upper lip is an *aṅgula*. The mouth is four *aṅgulas* in length. The lower lip is an *aṅgula*. The chin is two *aṅgulas*. There are 24 teeth and 8 canine. The height of the teeth is half an *aṅgula*, the canine teeth still longer by a twelfth part of an *aṅgula*. The eyes are an *aṅgula* in width and three *aṅgulas* in length. The dark pupil is a third part of the eye while the central part of the pupil is one fifth. The brows are half an *aṅgula* thick and three *aṅgulas* long, with an *aṅgula* space between them. The distance between the tip of the eye and the ear cavity is four *aṅgulas* The neck is ten *aṅgulas* in height and 21 *aṅgulas* in girth. The distance between the nipples is 16 *aṅgulas*. The distance between the collar bone and nipple is six *aṅgulas*. The girth of the arm near the armpit is sixteen *aṅgulas* and further up twelve. The palm is seven *aṅgulas* and five across. The middle finger is five *aṅgulas*. The fore finger is a division less. The ring finger is its equal in proportion. The small finger is smaller than these. All of them have three equal divisions. The nails are half the length of a division. The thumb is three *aṅgulas* with two divisions. The girth of the abdomen is 42 *aṅgulas*. According to physicians and in terms of proportion the navel

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is an *aṅgula*. The waist is 18 *aṅgulas* in width. Its girth is 44 *aṅgulas*. The testicles are four *aṅgulas* in width. The penis is six *aṅgulas* long. From its centre to the thigh is four *aṅgulas*. The knee is twice four i.e. eight) in width and three times that in girth. The lower end of the shanks is five *aṅgulas* wide and 14 in girth. The feet are twelve *aṅgulas* long and six wide with the toes three *aṅgulas*. The next to the big toe is equal to the toe. The rest are shorter by an eighth part. The nail of the toe is less than a fourth of an *aṅgula*. The nail of the next is half of the former. One eighth of it is the measure of the rest. The foot is all along an *aṅgula* but eight *aṅgulas* at its highest point. The heel is three *aṅgulas* and four in height. This is the measurement of a Haṁsa. And thus —

1 For the rest of the princely figures, the measurements have to be provided by an intelligent understanding on the lines indicated and from one's own experience.

2 A Haṁsa has honey-red eyes, is fair like the moon, has arms rounded like the elephant's trunk, is swan-like in gait, with beautiful waist and charming face.

3 A Bhadra is bushy on his cheeks, elephant-like in his gait, noble-minded, with arms rounded and heavy and lotus-like in complexion.

4 A Mālavya is dark like green pulse, attenuated in his waist, bright in form, with long hands reaching his knees, broad-shouldered, prominent in his nose like an elephant and with pronounced chin.

5 A Ruchaka is fair like the autumn, conch-shaped in his neck, full of strength, noble-minded, truthful and endowed with great taste.

6 A Śaśaka is dark red in complexion, a little gray and mottled, full in his cheeks, honey-red in his eyes and quick-witted.

Thus ends the 36th chapter on Measurements being the conversation between Mārkaṇḍeya and Vajra in the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

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Chapter 37

Mārkaṇḍeya spoke :-

1. Oh best among men! Please note that as there are five male categories with their own measurements of their limbs and their parts, there are similarly five female varieties as well.

2. The female is to be located close to the male, and portrayed as reaching the shoulder of the male of her category by calculation.

3. The waist of the female is two *aṁgulas* less than that of the male. Similarly her hip should exceed that of the male by four *aṁgulas*.

4. According to the measurements of the chest the breasts are to be fashioned of captivating beauty. All those of the five princely categories are to be portrayed with the characteristics of super-humans (*mahāpurushalakshaṇas*).

5. Universal monarchs (*chakravartins*) are to be portrayed with webbed fingers and toes. The auspicious curl of hair between the brows is to be shown in its place.

6. There are three beautiful prominent lines to be marked on each palm of a prince. They are best drawn when they are red like the blood of a hare and have thin terminals.

7. The hair should be done up to appear auspicious, wavy in the curls, thin and fine, oiled, groomed and gleaming, dark like laden clouds.

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8. There are these varieties of hair known as *Kuntala*, *Dakshiṇāvarta* (i.e. curling to right), *Taraṅga* (i.e. wavy), *Siṁhakesara* (i.e. like leonine mane), *Vardhara* and *Jūṭaṭasara* (frizzled).

9. The eye may be either bow-shaped (*chāpākara*), or fish-belly like (*matsyodara*), dark and charming like the blue lotus (*utpalapatrābha*), pinkish like the petal of the red lotus (*padmapatranibha*).

10. And somewhat circular like the conch (*śaṅkhākṛiti*), is the fifth. The bow-like eye is three *yavas* in measurement.

11. The fish-belly type is of the measure of four *yavas*. The eye like the blue lotus is six *yavas* in its measure.

12. The eye like the petal of the red lotus is nine *yavas* by its measure. The globular eye is to be understood as ten *yavas* in its proportion.

13. The measurement of *yavas* is by that of each category. The bow-like eye is when the eyes are set down in *yoga*.

14. The fish-bellied type is to be used for portraying women in general and those lovelorn in particular. The blue lotus petal eye is best for one who is not overcome by any emotion whatsoever.

15. The red lotus petal type is for the frightened or weeping. The conch-like globular is for the one in anger or tormented by pain or anguish.

16. The sages, the manes, and celestials are to be portrayed effulgent, haloed and adorned, almost eclipsing the lustre of others by their own.

17. Having appropriately and satisfactorily contemplated on these measurements in accordance with their respective forms, their stances and flexions, their appropriate background, the figures are to be drawn in unswerving masterly stroke of line work.

Thus ends the 37th chapter on the General Proportions being the conversation between Mārkaṇḍeya and Vajra in the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

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Chapter 38

Mārkaṇḍeya spoke :-

1. Oh king! The eye resembling the blue lotus petal is red at its tip, dark in its pupils, pleasant, with long lashes, attractive and exceedingly soft.

2-3. When this is fashioned for celestial figures, it augurs well for the welfare of the people. A pair of eyes, equal in proportion, wide, lotus red at the tips, attractive, pleasing to behold, with dark pupils, vouchsafes prosperity and happiness.

4. Symmetrically squarish, full, serene, of auspicious import, neither angular nor curved, but charming in shape should be the face.

5. In the case of celestials, excess of length, rotundity, curvature, angularity and other such traits should be avoided, if the prosperity and welfare of the people is intended to be secured.

6. Celestials are to be portrayed in the proportions of a Haṁsa. They should be provided hair only on their eye lashes and brows.

7. In the rest of the body the celestials are free from hair growth. Celestials are also to be represented as youths of sixteen summers.

8. They should be always beaming in their countenance, almost smiling in their looks, adorned with crown, earrings, necklets, armlets and bracelets.

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9. They should wear auspicious flower garlands, large waist cords, anklets and ornaments for the feet.

10-11. They should be provided the sacred thread, garlands for their hair-do, and draped with lower garment from the waist extending beyond the knee to the left, the right knee exposed by the garment reaching only up to it. This garment for the celestials should be attractive.

12. Their halo should fit the head it decorates, in due proportion to it, should be circular, following the requirements of each of the celestials.

13. Their look should be free from a tilt upwards or downwards or lateral, nor should it be too pronounced a gaze, or feeble, plaintive, angry or fierce.

14. An upward look forebodes death, the same downward brings sorrow, the lateral destroys wealth, the feeble brings on death.

15. The pronounced or plaintive look creates sorrow, the fierce look depletes wealth, the angered promotes fear.

16. Oh scion of the Yadu family! The figure should neither be executed with sunkun stomach nor bloated, nor should any disfigurement be presented.

17. The figure should be neither excessive or diminutive in proportion, or lurid in colour, with mouth agape or bent down.

18. By the limbs being disproportionate or oversized, the figure with sunken stomach produces the horror of hunger, while the one with bloated stomach invites the peril of death.

19. The disfigured or mutilated forebodes death, the undersized destroys wealth, the oversized creates sorrow, the garish in colour produces fear.

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20. That with mouth agape destroys the family, the pronouncedly east-gazing depletes wealth, similarly south-gazing brings on death.

21. The pronouncedly west-gazing destroys the offspring, the north-gazing enhances fear. The disproportionate one is generally destructive, the over-sized devastates the country.

22-23. The unpolished figure forebodes death and the angry one destroys beauty of form. The celestials, even when invoked by holy men, do not enter an image that is disproportionate and lacking in its significant characteristics. On the other hand it is always infested by spirits, demons and ogres.

24. Hence there should be every effort to reject the disproportionate figure. The figure conforming to its definition is always considered the best.

25. It assures long life, fame and glory, and increases wealth and material prosperity. The same devoid of definition destroys wealth and material prosperity.

26. Celestials are always to be depicted endowed with splendour and with the gait of the lion, bull, elephant or swan.

27. The figure that conforms to definition is considered to assure prosperity to the creative craftsman as well as the ruler of the realm. Hence it should be fashioned by them with a special effort to follow its own special definitive characteristics.

Thus ends the 38th chapter on the Definitive Characteristics of Figures being the conversation between Mārkaṇḍeya and Vajra in the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

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Chapter 39

Mārkaṇḍeya spoke—

1. There are nine poses for figures, auspicious in form and movement and varied in colour and tone. Listen as they are described one after the other in succession.

2-3. The first is *Ṛijvāgata*, the next is *Anṛiju*, then *Sāchīkṛita-śarīra*, *Ardhavilochana*, *Pārśvagata*, *Purāvṛitta*, thereafter *Pṛishṭhagata Paṛāvṛitta* and *Samānata*.

4. These are the nine main positions vastly differing in details. Listen as the definition of each is narrated.

5-6. The first among them is *Ṛijvāgata*, the front position facing the spectator, clear in its proportions and characteristics, full in form and beautiful, polished and shaded without a blemish, immaculate, sweet, with clear linear outline decorating it, where the full view of none of the limbs is impaired.

7-9. That is *Anṛiju* where the face is full and undiminished, the chest, stomach, waist, shoulder, thigh are slightly diminished, the nostrils, lower and upper lips are diminished by a quarter, only threefourths of the form is visible, and that beautiful to behold, with its pose as a fitting background for several lovely *karaṇa* stances.

10-13. That is *Sāchīkṛita* which has a horizontal background, pleasing to behold, with fine shading, delicate, with a fourth part diminished, lovely in all its limbs, portraying more than a half of the brows, forehead and raised nose, the remaining half of the body

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visible, the eye diminished slightly, not quite a silhouette or a front view, but just a modification.

13-16. *Ardhyardhāksha* is that which in form is as follows, shows half an eye in the face, half a brow invisible, part of the forehead, a visible half of the nose, half a cheek visible and the other half hidden from view, with only a half of the line on the neck, with only a small part of the chin perceptible, half the chest, the full face lost from view, a fraction of the *aṁgula* of the navel seen, a little over half the waist revealed, the rest rendered imperceptible.

17. This is also known as *Chhāyāgata* (silhouette), a word which is a synonymn. Here can be had a side view whether from the right or from the left.

18-20. It is called *Pārśvagata* that shows only one eye, one line of the brow, lip, nose and forehead, one ear, half the chin, similarly hair-do, but is yet not a whit lacking in proportions, charm, sweetness and other qualities. It is also styled *Bhittika.*

20-23. That is styled *Gaṇḍaparāvṛitta* where the form partially cut off from view has a sixteenth measure of the neck, the cheek, forehead, an eighth of the arm, chest, waist, legs and the private parts, all diminished carefully taking every part into account, and in adequate proportions, no limb diminished overmuch.

23-26 That is known as *Pṛishṭhagata* in picture and sculpture, where the disposition of the body is clear and attractive as a back view, with curved brow streak, polished in all the limbs, their joints and position, the terminal of the eye slightly visible, as well as a part of the cheek and stomach, set straight, appealing to the sight, and possessing in no small measure qualities like undiminished proportions, charm and sweetness.

26-29. That is to be understood as *Parivṛitta* where the top part of the head has a diminution of visibility, does not show some limbs (like nose, lips, chin, etc.) on account of its being a back view, though half the rest of the body (from shoulder to thighs) is visible.

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It thus appears without facial contour as a silhouette in its upper and lower parts (face and legs). Only the buttocks are seen in this three fourths back view which though revealing similarity of form partially is not so pleasing or refined as the same view from the front.

29-32 That is to be reckoned as *Samānata* where is a full view of the buttocks, the soles, the head seen only half, the waist seen in full, the toes completely hidden from view, is symmetrical, full in its (back) view, and in no way fearful (because of the lack of the smiling face seen only in the front view), half the arms seen (from the rear), the neck and face hidden from view completely and the legs lost to view except for their back view.

32-34 These are all the nine in their order as explained and understood by their definitions. Of these there can be many more created by the artist's imaginative fecundity in the case of each one with proper background and in accordance with the major principles governing them.

35 These nine positions as seen in all attitudes are to be drawn flawless in their proper measurements and in every other respect with a special effort at accuracy.

36-37 There are no more positions than these anywhere among sentient beings, mobile and immobile, the best, middling and worst, according to measurement or qualities. Pictures are also threefold.

38-39 Oh flawless one! you have been already fully informed of foreshortening (*kshayavṛiddhi*), and now I shall tell you the mode of foreshortening, as artists should know very well all about it in epitome and in detail.

39-43 Foreshortening (*kshayavṛiddhi*) is thirteenfold, as there are several positions depending on the limbs and their parts, the first is what is seen or frontal (*dṛishṭagata* or *abhimukha*,) then *anṛijugata*, *madhyārdhārdha*, *ardhārdha sāchīkṛitamukha*, *nata*, *gaṇḍaparāvṛitta*,

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pṛishṭhagata, pārśvagata, ullepa, chalita, uttāna, valita. Thus they are thirteen positions. These are all to be prepared according to the significance of their name and position. The movements of *vaiśākha* and *pratyālīḍha maṇḍalas* are in the order of the movements of *pratyālīḍha.*

44 The *padas* or feet are together (*sama*) or separated (*ardha-sama*) steady (*susthita*) or in motion (*chalita*). *Sthānaka* or stance is of two kinds, resting on both feet or on one.

45-46 The *samapada* or with feet together is understood as mostly in *ṛijvāgata. Maṇḍala* is a second of this category. The rest of the *sthānas*, whatever they are, are either feet together or a foot alone steady and the other in a variety of pose or motion (*chala*).

46-48 Here *vaiśākha, ālīḍha* and *pratyālīḍha* are for bowmen. *Chitra, gomūtraka* and *vishama* are for warriors wielding sword and shield. For those carrying the lance, javelin, spear, boomerang and such other weapons one leg is either moving or shaking, or fatigued or in *ālīḍha* while the other is steady. Those carrying the wheel, trident, club or a small spear should be shown leaping or jumping.

49-50 A wise artist should picture a feminine form in a stance resting on one foot that is steady in the *samapada* (feet together), the other foot at ease, the body in sportive charm and in a somewhat leaning or supporting attitude, sometimes in a rather quicker pace, maintaining a charm in gait and movement, sustaining a vision of the charm of contour of the hips.

51 There are in this world several beings that are disproportionate on account of their age and emotion. This has to be well borne in mind by a wise artist when with his power of discerning he prepares their proportions according to the principles of *kshayavṛiddhi* or foreshortening.

Thus ends the 39th chapter on Foreshortening in the Treatise on Painting from the conversation between Mārkaṇḍeya and Vajra in the *Vishṇudharmottara.*

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CHAPTER 40

Mārkaṇḍeya spoke:-

1-3. Brick powder of three varieties (i.e. smooth, middling and coarse) should be mixed with clay, a third of it in proportion. To this is added fragrant gum resin, bee's wax, honey, *kundara* grass, molasses, safflower soaked in oil, all in equal proportions. To these two parts already composed is added powder of lime three fourths burnt, with *bel* fruit pulp and lampblack. The rest or the remaining fourth part is an addition of sand (a little more or less) according to the experience of the skilful artist.

4. Then it is soaked in water stored in a pot so as to get lubricous and is kept so for a month.

5. When after a month it becomes a very soft paste, it has to be carefully taken out and a coat applied by the skilled artist on the wall after testing that it is quite dry.

6. The coating should be smooth, even, firm, free from uneven patches, neither too thick nor too thin.

7-8. When the wall is dry after this coat and is still not quite smooth, it should be smoothened by an application of the clay bereft of *sarjarasa* and oil by coats of lamp black and frequent wetting of the surface with milk and rubbing, all with a great effort.

9. The wall dries up very soon and does not perish even after a hundred years.

10. In this same manner a variety of mosaic floors can be made in picturesque fashion by the use of two or different colours.

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11-13. When the wall is dry, on a good day with an excellent constellation that is appropriate to the *gaṇa* (*deva* in preference to *manushya* or *rākshasa*), specially suited for starting a picture (like Punarvasu for Rāma, Ārdra for Naṭarāja, Rohiṇī for Kṛishṇa, Mṛigaśira for Śiva, etc.), the painter, dressed in immaculate white, pure in mind and body, having adored Vedic seers and uttered auspicious hymns (*svastivākya*), and having bowed to the learned in the art and the Masters in their order, and with great affection for the Masters, facing the east, contemplating on the deity to be depicted, should start his work of painting.

14-15. The wise artist should draw and fix up the proportions and positions of the figures. Then he should colour the painting with colours appropriate in their different situations. Darker and lighter shades should be shown as they occur. This chiaroscuro has been earlier explained by me at length.

16. The primary colours are five, white, yellow, red, black, blue with hundreds of intermediate tones.

17. First the colour scheme is arrived at by separating them and according to the artist's knowledge and capacity for creating the atmosphere in the picture, there should be produced hundreds and thousands of colour tones.

18. Blue and yellow mixed produce green. It may be pale with a greater modicum of white or deeper with blue.

19. According to the colours used quantitatively there is a predominance of a colour, lighter, darker or in equal proportion, making it threefold.

20-21. With one tone predominant many tints are produced. Thus there is the somewhat yellowish green of *dūrvā* grass, light wood-apple green, green like green pulse and so on, which can all be produced.

21-22. Blue mixed with white is a tertiary colour which again

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is manifold by the predominance, diminution, equal or lesser proportion of one or the other. Thus is formed the tint like that of the blue lily, of the dark *chāsha* bird.

23-24. Beautiful tints are produced by mixing in calculated proportions. Red *lākshā* tint mixed with white like the *lodhra* flower becomes red like the red lotus, a colour so charming. This again produces several other varying tints.

25-26. The material for colours are gold, silver, copper, mica, lapis lazuli, red lead, lead, yellow orpiment, lime, red lac, vermilion, indigo, and several more manifold.

27. There are all these in every country and have to be prepared with one or other predominant. Metal colours are to be laid in delicately thin sheets or by liquefying them by chemical methods.

28. Mica becomes the solvent liquefier when added to iron. Thus when metal colouring is to be done they have to be suitably prepared.

29. The liquefier of mica is mercury. Hide glue and *bakula* resin glue act to fix and strengthen colours for all of which vermilion juice is also used.

30. The picture painted with brushes of high quality hair and with colours strengthened by the glue of elephant hide, the juice of *dūrvā* and bark resin cannot be destroyed even though washed with water but has a prolonged life for several years.

Here ends the 40th chapter titled Colour Composition being the conversation between Mārkaṇḍeya and Vajra in the *Vishṇudharmotara.*

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Chapter 41

Mārkaṇḍeya spoke—

1. Pictures are of four varieties, *Satya*, *Vaiṇika*, *Nāgara* and *Miśra*. Their definition is this.

2. What is known as *Satya* faithfully portrays any object of the world that it intends to represent. It has the limbs somewhat elongate though following proportions in all other respects, is delicate in treatment and with the right background.

3. What is styled *Vaiṇika* is symmetrical, complete in its form, with no elongation of any limbs, nor exaggeration of form, in true proportions and rich in stances.

4. That is to be understood as *Nāgara* which has all its limbs well rounded, firmly and powerfully set, though not too exaggerated, and with great restraint in jewellery and garlands as decoration.

5. *Miśra* is briefly described, as its name implies, as a mixture of the three styles described earlier.

5-7. There are three ways of depicting light and shade, namely, *patraka*, *binduka* and *raikhika*. *Patravartana* is so called as it is composed of lines crosshatched in leaf pattern. *Raikhika vartana* is composed of very fine lines. *Binduvartana* is so called because it is effected by stippling.

7 8. Weak and vague drawing, coarse dotty lines in sketches, lack of symmetry, oversized depiction of cheeks, lips and eyes, awry

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line work, celestial figures looking common place human figures, these are defects in a painting.

9. The merits in a painting are appropriate stance, proportions and background, sweetness in execution, symmetry, likeness to the original and foreshortening.

10. Line, shading, decorative design and colour are the decorative element in pictures.

11. Masters are all praise for excellence in line work while connoisseurs value excellence in shading. Feminine taste prefers decorative work. The others in general have a liking for rich colours in a picture.

12. Taking this into account the artist should so direct his effort in painting pictures as to win the hearts of all these with different tastes.

13. The factors that contribute to detract from the value of a picture are the artist's lack of composure as he is seated for painting, the painting taken up in a disturbed state of mind, the thought of thirst during the act of painting (like hunger where the hungry one can think of nothing else: *bubhukshitam na pratibhāti kiñchit*) and the mind wandering away from the picture distracted by other thoughts.

14. The place chosen for painting a picture should be well cleaned, free from flies, mosquitoes and the like, clean, attractive and well protected.

15. A picture, painted smoothly and clearly in well defined lines with a perfect knowledge of apparel and ornament, appropriate to the country and rank of the figures depicted, and not lacking either in proportions or in charm, would indeed be an exciting one.

Thus ends the 41st chapter on Colour Shading being the conversation between Mārkaṇḍeya and Vajra in the *Vishṇudharmottara.*

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Chapter 42

Mārkaṇḍeya spoke—

1. Kings in general are to be depicted in pictures like the celestials, while individually each of them should be portrayed in consonance with his features.

2-3. Sages, Gandharvas (celestial minstrels), Daityas (demons) and Dānavas (ogres), ministers, astrologers, royal priests, Brāhmaṇas are all to be drawn in *Bhadra* proportions.

3-4. The sages are to be adorned with bundled up matted locks of hair, wear black antelope skin as upper garment, and though physically weak are to be full of spiritual lustre.

4-5. Devas (celestials) and Gandharvas do not wear a crown but should be adorned with groomed and well-dressed hair shooting up. Brāhmaṇas are to be full of spiritual lustre and draped in white apparel.

6-7. Ministers, astrologers and priests may wear all their ornaments but very sparingly and not gaudily. They should not wear a crown but should don a turban.

7-8. Daityas and Dānavas are to be shown frowning with knit brows, rolling circular eyes and terrible visage. Their dress should be most flamboyant.

9-10. Vidyādharas (a class of celestials) are to be drawn to *Bhadra* proportions and as moving in pairs with their wives, wearing

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flower garlands and jewels. Whether they roam in the celestial or terrestrial sphere they carry a sword.

10. Kinnaras (centaurs), Nāgas (celestial snakes) and Rākshasas (giants) are to be of *Mālavya* proportions.

11. Yakshas (a class of celestials, guardians of treasures) are to be delineated in *Ruchaka* proportions. Principal or important men should be of *Śaśaka* proportions.

12. Piśāchas (ghosts), dwarfs, hunchbacks, Pramathagaṇas (Śiva's dwarf attendants) are to be depicted regardless of proportions.

13. The womenfolk of all these are to be in consonance with their proportions.

13-14. Kinnaras are of two types, some human-faced and equine-bodied, and others with human body and equine face.

14-15. The equine-faced ones should be decorated with all jewels, associated with music and musical instruments and look effulgent.

15. Rākshasas are to be depicted with dishevelled hair, ugly eyes and appear frightful.

16. Nāgas are to be pleasing like the Devas, with snake hoods adorning them on their head. All of them including the Yakshas already described have to be decorated with ornaments.

17. Among the gods Pramathas are to be depicted without any specific proportions. Similarly the Piśāchas are devoid of definite proportions.

18-19. The gaṇas of Devatas are to be depicted with the faces of different animals and birds, should be variantly dressed, carry different weapons, and engage themselves in different sports and activities.

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19-20. Vaishṇava *gaṇas* are however to be all in one standard form. But even so they have four variations.

20-23. The *gaṇas* of Vāsudeva are to resemble Vāsudeva, Saṇkarshaṇa's *gaṇas* are after him, and the *gaṇas* of Pradyuma and Aṇiruddha take after the one or the other. They all have the power of their Masters, whose weapons they also carry. They are blue like the petals of the blue lotus, or fair like the moon, or emerald dark, or have the lustre of vermilion.

23-24. Courtesans are to be portrayed in *Ruchaka* proportions, should be attired in flamboyant dress that is most appropriate for the erotic mood.

24-25. Household women should be of *Mālavya* proportions, shy and retiring, not too gaudily dressed but wearing a quantum of jewels.

25-27. While the wives of Daityas, Dānavas, Yakshas and Rākshasas are to be portrayed as beautiful, their mothers are to be delineated in their own fierce forms. The wives of Piśāchas, however, are to be shown fearful after their male norm.

27-28. Widows are to be represented somewhat advanced in age with greyish hair, wearing white apparel and unadorned.

28-29. The retinue of princesses should be composed of hunchbacks, dwarfs, aged women and beautiful damsels with an old chamberlain.

29-30. Vaiśyas or the trading class should be portrayed in *Ruchaka* proportions while Śūdras are in *Śaśaka* measurement, with their dress in consonance witn their caste and profession.

31. There should be attendant women depicted in the case of the consorts of Daityas and the rest.

31-33. The commander-in-chief of the army is to be portrayed by the artist who knows his art as monumental in head, chest, nose,

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cheek, ample in his shoulders, arms and neck, liberal in his general height and body build, with triple wavy furrow on his forehead, eagle-eyed, ample in his waist girth and, above all, overbearing in appearance.

33-34. The warriors are to be mostly shown with knit brows, somewhat loud and gaudy in their dress and looking up in disdain. Warriors on foot carrying weapons should be shown advancing fast.

35-36. Those wielding the sword and shield are to be like the Karṇāṭakas in their appearance. Bowmen carrying the best arrows are to be shown bare-kneed, with a not-too-gaudy dress but wearing foot-wear.

36. Elephants, horses and the rest are to be portrayed according to their given description.

37. The elephant riders are to be painted dark like the green pulse with their hair frizzled and decked with jewels.

38-39. The horse-riders are to be delineated in northern dress. Somewhat gaudy in dress are to be portrayed bards and minstrels, their look turned upwards, the nerves bulging on their neck as they sing aloud.

39. Announcers are to be shown reddish and with sidelong looks.

40. Pairs in combat engaged like wrestlers are to be shown somewhat like the Dānavas, tall and stately, club in hand, neither swarthy nor with oblique eyes.

41. The usher (*pratīhāra*) should be neither too showy nor too subdued in his apparel, should carry a sword fastened on one side and hold a club.

42-43. Traders are to be depicted with a turban wound round the head. Musicians and dancers and instrumentalists are to be

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presented in flamboyant dress.

43-44. Worthy citizens and country-folk are to be represented as elders with greyish hair, sign of approaching age, dressed in immaculate white and bejewelled, full of a spirit of humility, affable, and by nature of a loving disposition and sweet-looking.

45-46. Servants and those of the working class are to be shown engrossed in their daily chores. Wrestlers are to be shown tall and well-built, thick-necked, large-headed and close cropped, overbearing and massive.

46-48. Bulls, lions and other animals and birds are to be depicted in their natural surroundings and in close conformity to what is observed in nature. Though what may not be seen so easily has been explained at some length, what can be easily observed and studied should be so sketched and painted as to lay stress on their proper semblance to the original. In a picture the most essential factor is to bring out prominently the semblance of the portrait to the portrayed.

49-50. The artist should study the difference in features, dress, ornamentation and complexion and accordingly depict people in their special characteristics. Their country, inclination, position, action, even their seat, bedstead, vehicles, dress and apparel should be studied closely and carefully depicted with meticulous care.

51. Rivers and streams are to be conceived in feminine form on their respective vehicles, carrying filled water pitchers in their hands and with knees slightly bent.

52-53. Mountains are to be noble male figures, with the peaks on their head or in their hand. In the hands of personified continents (like Jambūdvīpa) there should be shown the earth globe.

53-54. Oceans are to be depicted with gem-filled pots in their hand, and in the place of their haloes should be the wavy pattern of water, suggestive of its expanse.

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54. Personified weapons should have their respective symbols on their heads.

55-56. The pot is a symbol in general for all treasures and should be shown in the hands of personified Śaṅkhanidhi, the lotus similarly for Padmanidhi, and similarly for other *nidhis* like Makara, Kachchhapa, etc. All the *nidhis* are to be personified, all of them almost alike, but each differing in his attribute.

56. In the case of celestials of a high order their attributes as well as a rosary and manuscript are to be indicated.

57. And now I shall narrate the form that suits appropriately any particular object intended. The well-versed artist should represent the sky as having no colour in particular, but full of birds on the wing.

58. The celestial sphere beyond is represented adorned by stars. The earth has to be shown with a mix up of different regions of the forests, plains and marshes with their particular characteristics.

59. Mountains are to be depicted in their natural form with clusters of large boulders, peaks, mineral deposits, wild growth of trees, torrents and waterfalls, pythons.

60-61 The forest region is delineated by diverse trees in wild unfettered growth, birds and wild animals. Water is presented by an endless variety of fishes, tortoises and turtles, swans and ducks and other similar aquatic life.

61-62 Cities are represented by picturesque temples, palaces and mansions, markets and well la d out highways and roads. The village is suggested by humbler dwellings and cottages adorned here and there by gardens.

63 All fortresses are to be depicted well planned and with moats, defence walls and turrets and watch-towers tall as mountains.

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64 The market area has to be represented by rich merchandise spread out for sale. The drinking taverns are to be liberally stocked with liquor and crowded with drinking folk.

65 Those engaged in gambling should be devoid of even their upper garment, mad in their rush to stake everything, the winners in the game bright and merry, the losers downcast with grief.

66 The battlefield is to be represented with all the four limbs of the army engaged earnestly in fight and striking with their respective weapons, the field itself strewn with corpses, limbs cut and thrown scattered about with the blood curdling all around.

67 The crematorium is to be shown with burning pyres and corpses. The caravan route has to be indicated by camels and other beasts of burden laden with merchandise.

68 The portrayal of night is by showing the moon, stars and planets, people asleep, or engaged in nocturnal amours and thieves prowling about.

69 In the earlier part of the night the loving damsel heading towards the place of tryst, the *abhisārikā,* is to be shown and the approach of dawn is to be indicated by the lights dimming as the sky assumes a crimson hue and cocks crow to herald daybreak.

70 Another way of representing daybreak is by showing men sallying forth and engaged in their respective pursuits and Brāhmaṇas religiously busy offering their morning ablutions to the sun rising in crimson glory.

71-72 The darkness of night is indicated by men shown feeling their way. Moonlight shed by the moon is to be delineated by the bloom of blue lilies. Also it is indicated by a cool leaf-spread bed with lotus pollen strewn to indicate the mitigating of the heat experienced from moonlight by the love-lorn damsel (*virahiṇī*) in separation.

72 Rain is indicated by a downpour to avoid which men and women would cover themselves.

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73-74 The heat of summer is indicated by the sun in the sky and the folk around tormented by heat. Spring is suggested by the seasonal trees in bloom, humming with bees and resounding with the coo of the cuckoo, and men and women moving about blithe and gay.

74-75 Summer is to be delineated by the fatigue experienced by men, animals seeking the shade of trees and arbours, buffaloes enjoying a dip in the mire of muddy water as the pools dry up, birds hiding themselves in the thick verdure of trees and wild animals like the lion and tiger repairing to the cool comfort of their mountain caverns.

76 The rainy season is portrayed by dark laden clouds rather bent down by their aquatic burden and beautified by the colourful impact of the rainbow and lit up now and again by the flash of streaks of lightning.

77 Autumn is painted by trees laden with fruit, corn ripe in the fields, pools filled with lotuses and swans.

78 Approach of winter is indicated by dew and fog settled all over, the earth bare and dreary, and the whole atmosphere misty.

79 The deep cold of winter is portrayed by crows and elephants joyous, man tormented by cold, and snowfall all around everywhere.

80 The painter should study the picture and mood of nature and depict the seasons as he sees around him by the flowers and fruit on trees and the joy or happiness of men, animals and birds.

81 The moods of flavour are to be depicted as earlier explained, and what has been detailed under dance has to be here utilised as they fit in.

82 The picture with excellent but bare line work and lacking in modelling is called *śushka* (dry) and is second best. That which is produced with excellent modelling is called *ārdra* (moist) and is

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the best. The inferior type which is neither simple like *śuskha* nor highly finished like *ārdra* but is an admixture of both with its definition impaired is *śushkārdra* (dry and moist). It is the least attractive.

83 The picture painted in conformity with the region, time, form and age is the best, and that which is the opposite of it is clearly so in quality as well.

84 A good painting sets off the prowess of a master who can use his excellence in aesthetic creation to advantage by stress on pleasing stances for figures, brilliance in hue, portraiture of emotions and grace in situations, as all these gladden the eye in inviting attention and assuring all that the heart desires.

Thus ends the 42nd chapter titled Creating Forms being the conversation between Mārkaṇḍeya and Vajra in the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

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Chapter 43

Mārkaṇḍeya spoke —

1 There are nine *rasas* recognised in art (*chitra*), *śṛiṅgāra* (erotic), *hāsya* (comic), *karuṇa* (compassionate), *vīra* (heroic), *raudra* (terrific), *bhayānaka* (fearful), *bībhatsa* (disgusting), *adbhuta* (wonderful), and *śānta* (peaceful).

2 In *śṛiṅgāra* or erotic flavour it is appropriate to portray the figures bright, with iridescence, a certain sweet charm in the lines composing beautiful form, tasteful dress and decoration (jewels, etc.)

3 *Hāsya* or the mood exciting laughter is that where the sight of deformed ones like hunchbacks, dwarfs and the like as well as movements like the hand awkwardly drawn in a comical mode of shyness excites it.

4 In *karuṇa* or the mood of compassion should be portrayed the pathos in abject want, cruel separation, renunciation, sale of the beloved ones, unbearable sorrow and the like.

5 In *raudra* flavour should be depicted harsh, unnatural, angry, unworthy language and import used in abuse and action as if to hurt with flaming sharp weapons.

6 In *vīra* or heroic mood there is a certain wonder suggested in portraying a smile on the face of a hero with knit brow, a flash of pride and nobility in the sense of heroic purpose in oaths uttered with great emotion.

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7 By the use in pictures of *bhayānaka* or fear-kindling flavour there is to be depicted the wicked, the abhorrent, the mad, the harmful, the murderous and other such fearful themes.

8 That is born of *bībhatsa* mood in a picture as chosen by an artist, adept in his art, where occur the crematorium, killing the forbidden, against a background composition so heart-rending.

9 That partakes of *adbhuta* or the mood of wonder where one gazes at another, revealing on his face, rather pulled down, a certain humility, horriputation, thoughtful mood apparent.

10 What is depicted in *śānta* or the mood of peace is serene in appearance, meditative, fixed in contemplation and seated at ease, sages and ascetics predominating the scene.

11 Pictures illustrating *śṛiṅgāra, hāsya* and *śānta* are to be painted in residential buildings. The rest of the moods are never to be represented in any residence.

12 All the moods can be painted and shown in temples and royal palaces, but even in the latter, they are not to be portrayed in the residential part of the royal palace.

13-14 All the moods are to be depicted in the halls of audience of the king. Apart from the public halls of the palace and the temples, never and nowhere else can be painted inauspicious themes, and themes depicting battles, crematorium, exciting compassion, scenes portraying death, agony and anything despicable.

15-16 Bulls with horns holding treasure and elephants holding treasure pots in their trunks, the treasures themselves personified, Vidyādharas, sages and Garuḍa, Hanumān and all the rest that are considered auspicious objects in the world, should be painted in the homes of men all over.

17 Painting should never be done by anyone with his own hand for decorating his own house.

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17-18 Weak drawing, coarse line work, crooked or awry lines and muddling of colours are counted as defects in painting.

19 Appropriate stance, proportion, background, sweet execution and distinctive symmetry, semblance to the original and foreshortening are the eight merits in a picture.

20 That is considered unpraiseworthy which shows any defect in stances, flaw in the depiction of emotions, a vacant look, is smudgy, and is devoid of life and movement.

21-22 That picture is considered auspicious which has the background in it that fits it, and almost embraces it by being appropriate, when its sweet execution almost smiles, where the figures seem to be alive and breathing.

22-23 The artist should ever avoid painting what is devoid of auspiciousness, defective in form, tainted, vacant, agitated by being overpowered, disease-stricken or fear-struck, wild with dishevelled hair.

24-26 Pictures painted by knowledgeable, good-natured and qualified painters assure speedy arrival of prosperity and the removal of all adversity, wash off all anxieties, prevent imminent ill luck, spread pure satisfaction generating it beyond all measure, kill the effect of bad dreams, please the household deity. The place where a good picture is displayed would not at all appear vacant, and it assures the auspicious fruit of the *purushārthas*, *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*.

27 He is well versed in painting who can draw the ear in a natural way without any ornaments on it, who can depict one wounded by an arrow and in great pain, and an aged one with the difficult marks of age.

28 He is to be reckoned knowledgeable in art who paints according to the movement of the wind, the waves, wavelets and ripples, flames of fire and smoke, fluttering banners and apparel blown by the wind.

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29 He is an adept in painting who can depict the difference between a sleeping pig that is alive and breathing and a dead one bereft of life, and similarly the variation in heights and depths determining light and shade or chiaroscuro.

30 Proper arrangement of figures in the composition of a picture is praiseworthy. By special effort, the crowding of figures, one directly in front of another, should be avoided.

31 As in painting, so in the case of dug up metals like gold, silver, copper and so forth, it is mentioned that the figures are to be prepared as seen practised in the world around by the respective craftsmen.

32 Following the process that has been explained at length for painting, images in stone, wood and metal are to be fashioned.

33 Modelling in clay and metal (i.e. as it is from the original wax) is according to the same process. It is prepared in two ways, solid and hollow.

34 The solid ones can be in metal, stone, wood and clay. The hollow ones may be of leather, wood and metal.

35 A thick coating of clay has to be applied to the leathern figure which should be covered similarly by cloth and painted.

36 Oh king! This has all been explained to you in brief as it is impossible to elaborate this even in several hundreds of years.

37 What has not been explained here has to be supplemented from the directions in the section on dance. What is not given there has to be supplied from the section on painting.

38 Of all arts the best is *chitra*. It gives the fruit of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *moksha*. Wherever it is established in a house, it is the harbinger of the best of auspiciousness.

39 Just as Sumeru is the best of mountains, as Garuḍa is the

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foremost of the birds, as the king is the chief among men, similarly the best of *chitra* is the most praiseworthy among the fine arts.

Thus ends the 43rd chapter titled the Application of Flavours and the Rest, being the conversation between Markaṇḍeya and Vajra in the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

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Fig. 1. Naranārāyaṇa and the birth of Urvaśī, Gupta, 5th century A.D., Daśāvatāra temple, Deogarh.

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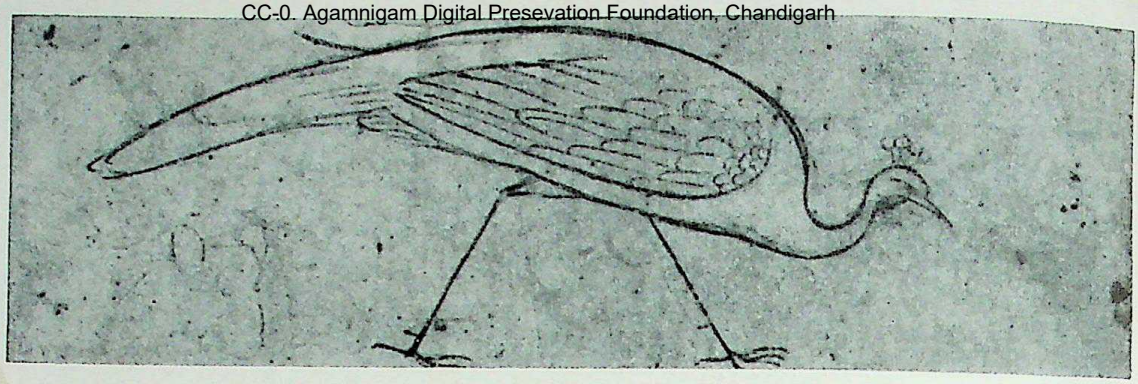

Fig. 4. Sketch of a peacock, illustrating effective drawing achieved by economy in line work, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṇḍīgarh.

Fig. 2. *Chitrāchārya* demonstrating the process of painting to his pupils, Chandella, 10th century A.D., Khajuraho.

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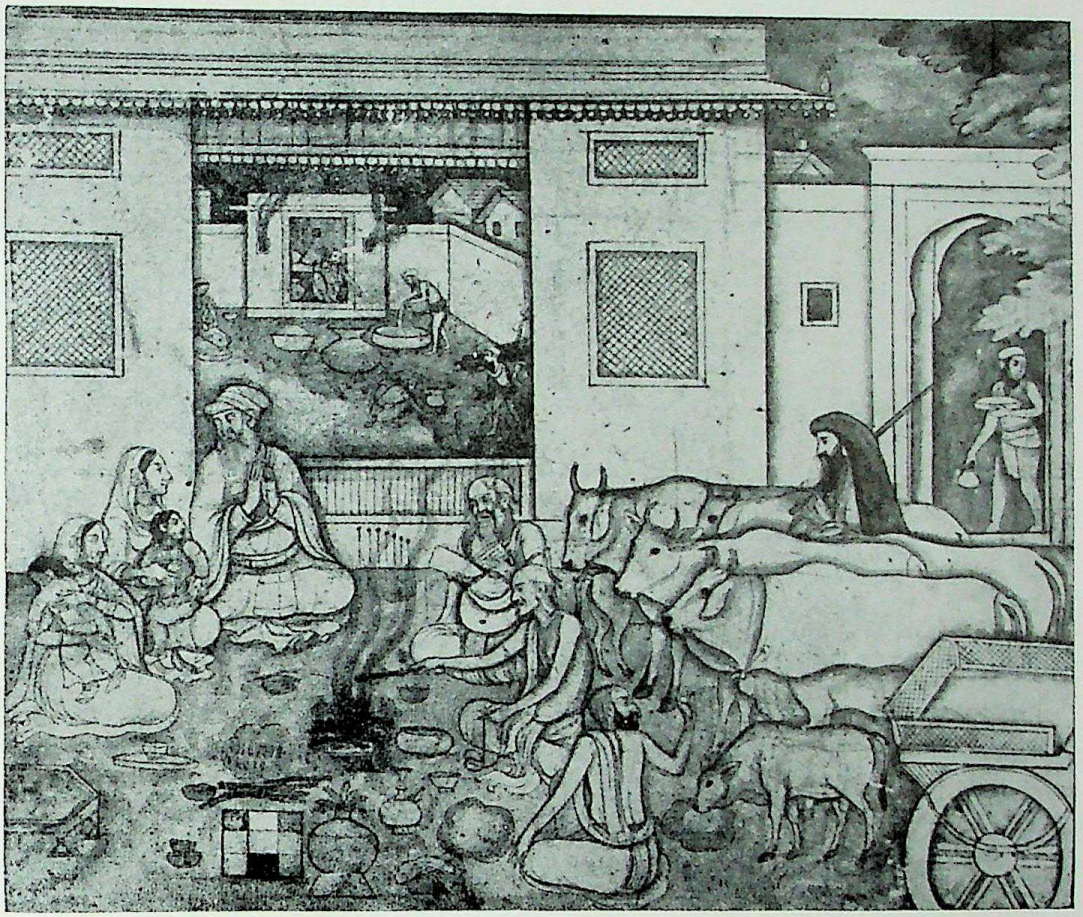

Fig. 8. Natal ceremony of Kṛishṇa, note the flame and smoke from the *homakuṇḍa*, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṅḍīgarh.

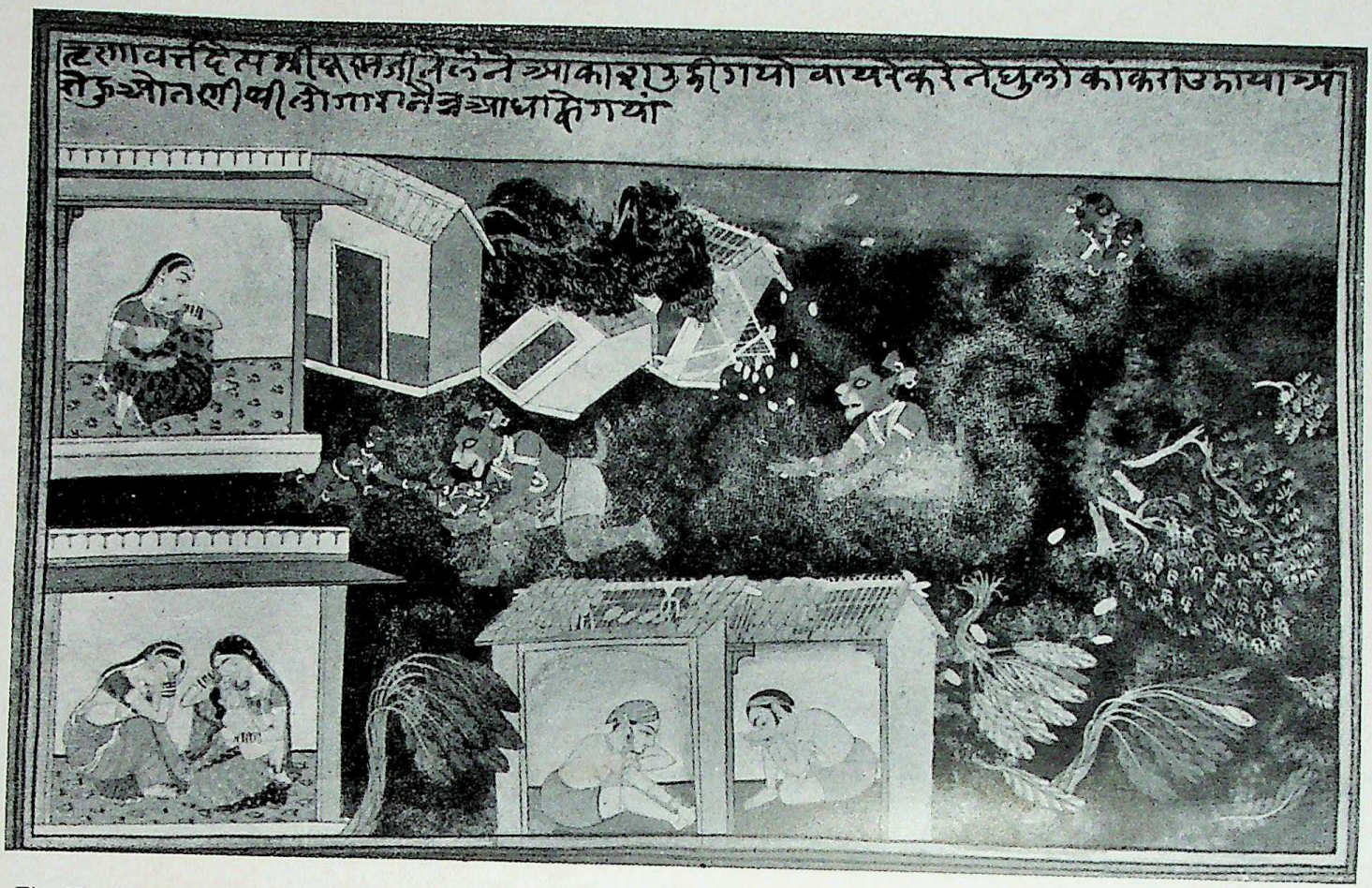

Fig. 11. Tṛiṇāvarta overcome by baby Kṛishṇa, showing the ingenious way of painting the whirls of whirlwind in a storm, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., National Museum.

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Fig. 12. Rādhā and Kṛishṇa caught in a storm, showing the movement of the wind by the violent sway of the branches of trees, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., J.C. French Collection.

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Fig. 13. The pig asleep, a fine study to illustrate the artist's ability to draw and distinguish an animal asleep and an animal dead, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṇḍīgarh.

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Fig. 14. Painter at work surrounded by colour pans, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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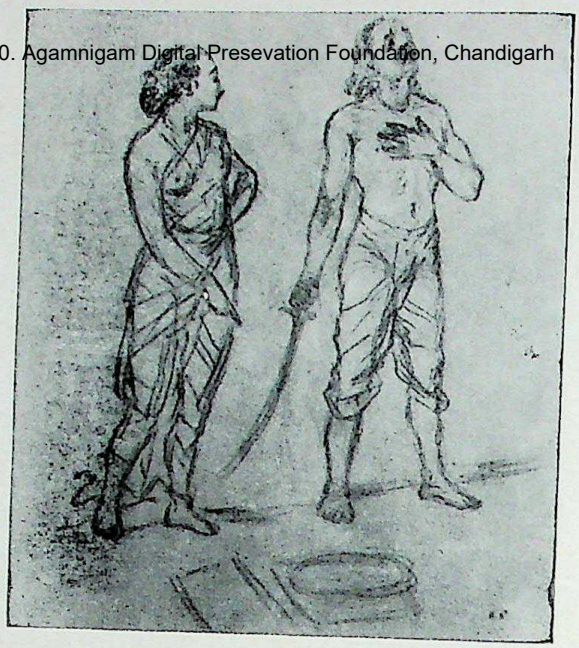

Fig. 15. *Hastalekha*, preliminary sketch for the famous painting of Rukmāṅgada and Mohinī, by Ravi Varma, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Trivandrum.

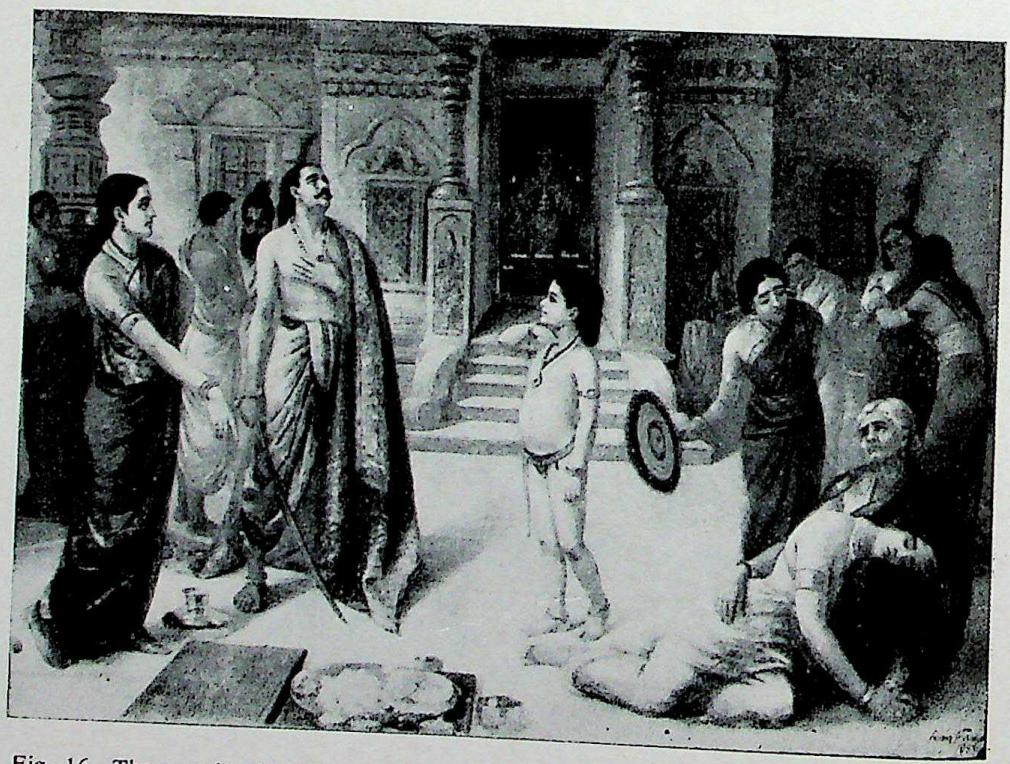

Fig. 16. The completed painting of Rukmāṅgada and Mohinī, by Ravi Varma, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Trivandrum.

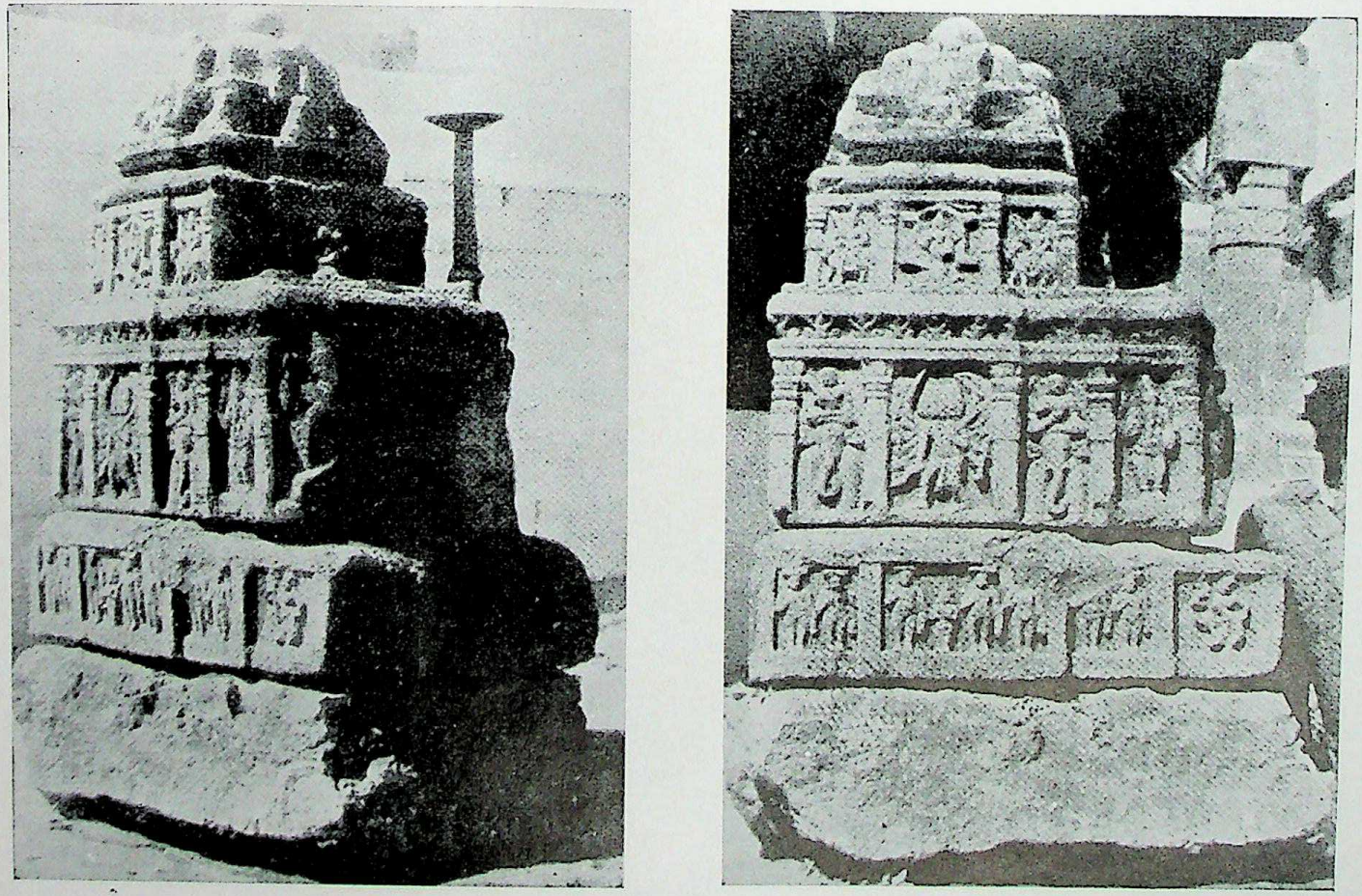

Fig. 17. *Varṇaka*, preliminary model for the famous Śiva temple of Bhīmeśvaram kept in the temple of Bhīmeśvaram, Eastern Chāḷukya, 11th century A.D., Sāmalkoṭ.

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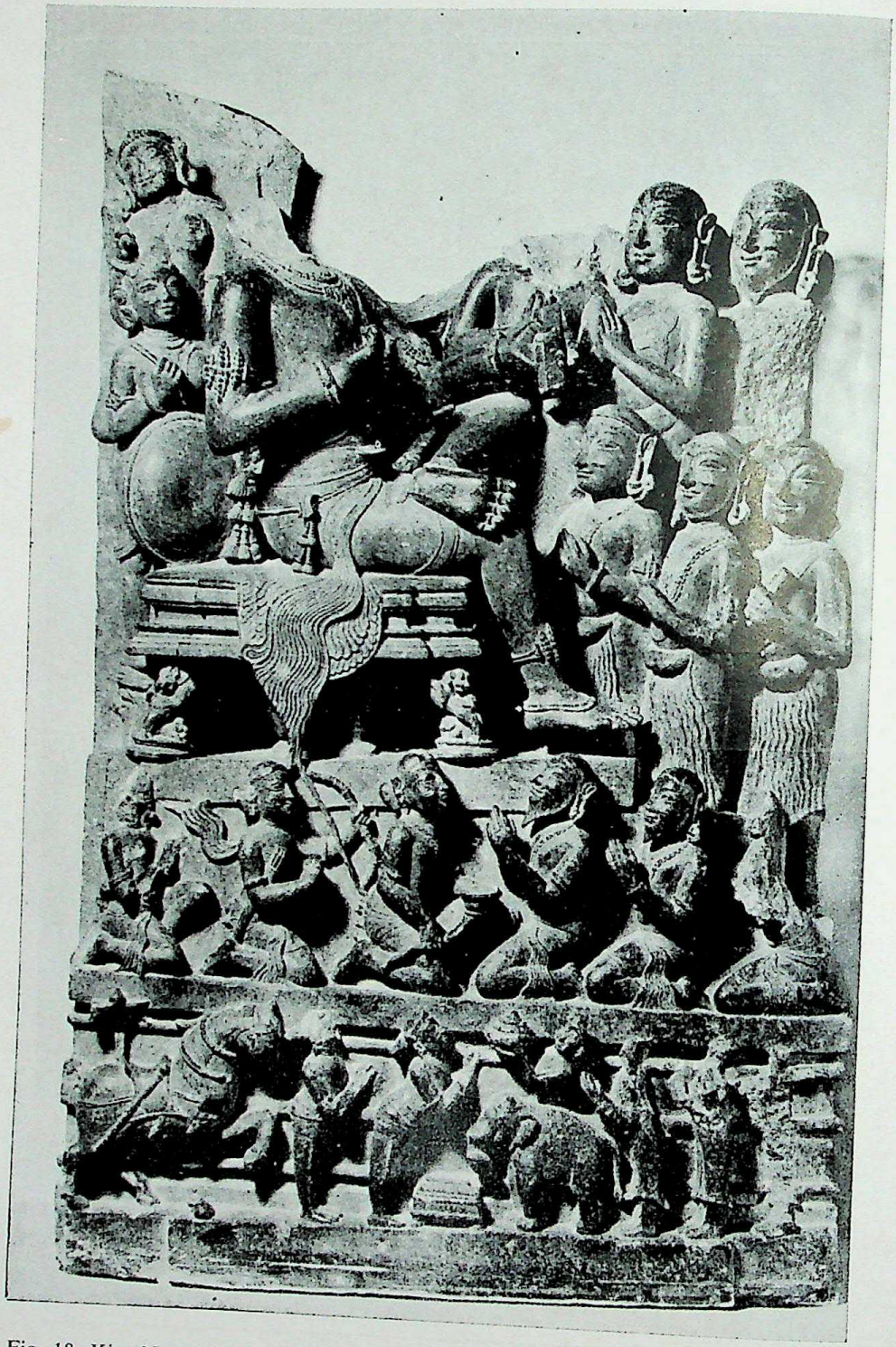

Fig. 18. King Narasiṁha in *kavisamāja* or assembly of poets, Eastern Gaṅga, 13th century A.D., Koṇārak, National Museum.

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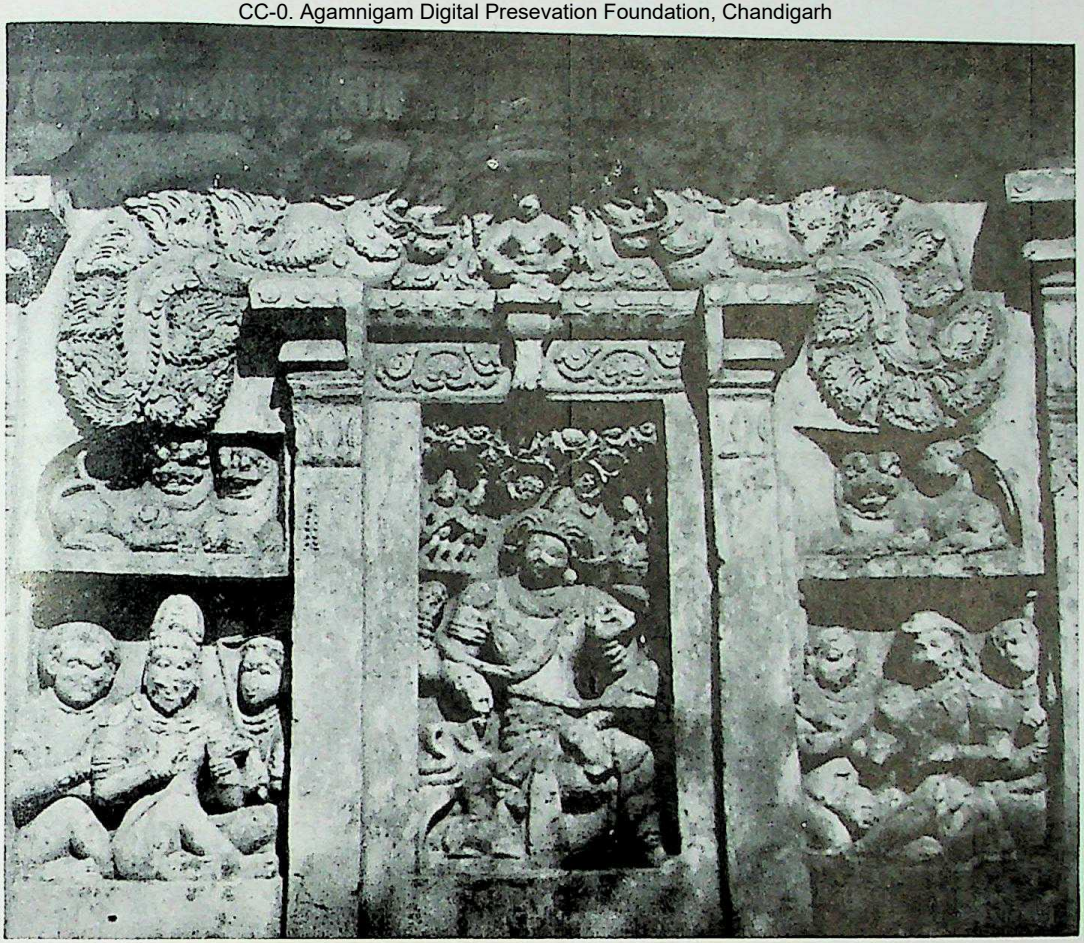

Fig. 19. Śaṅkara's portrait, Pallava, 8th century A.D., Iravaṇeśvara temple, Kāñchīpuram.

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Fig. 20. Sūrya in *udīchyavesha*, Kushāṇa, 1st century A.D., Archaeological Museum, Mathurā.

Fig. 21. Vāyu, shown running on reverse of Kanishka's coin, Kushāṇa, 1st century A.D.

Fig. 23. Vāyu, shown holding wind-filled garment. Gurjara Pratīhāra, 8th century A.D., Osian.

Fig. 22. Vāyu, shown holding wind-filled garment, Gurjara Pratīhāra, 8th century A.D., Osian.

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Fig. 24. Agni, terracotta with flames on the shoulders, Gupta, 4th century A.D., National Museum.

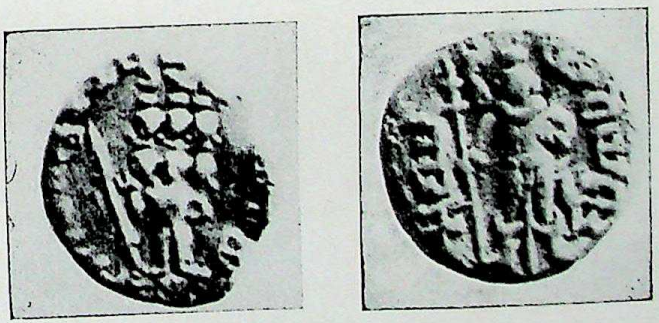

Fig. 25. Skanda as Brahmaṇyadeva on Yaudheya coin, a. six-headed, b. single-headed.

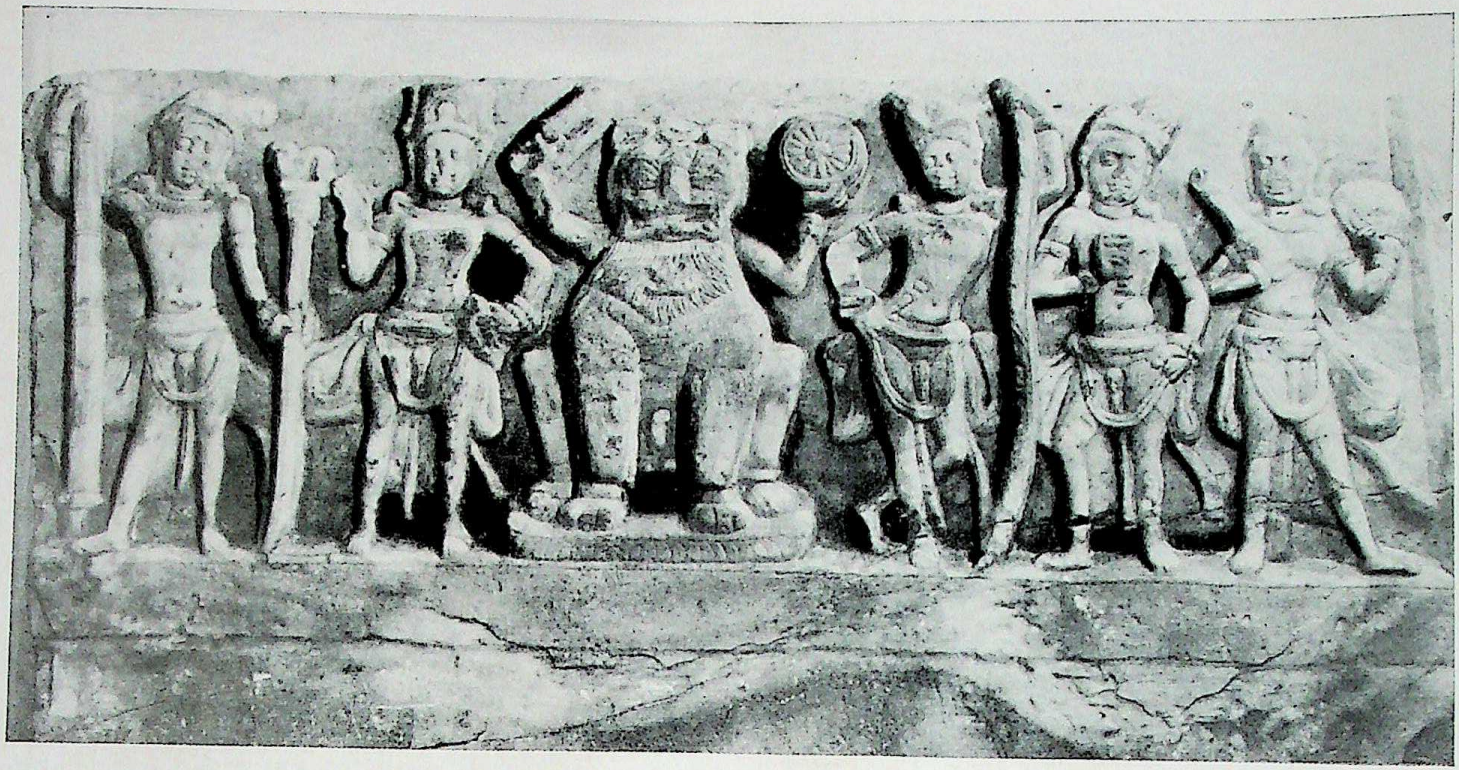

Fig. 26. Pañchavīras flanking Narasiṁha, Early Pallava, 3-4th century A.D., Koṇḍamotu, Āndhra Pradesh.

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Fig. 27. Brahmā seated on a fleet of swans, Vākāṭaka. 5th century A.D. Elephaṇṭā.

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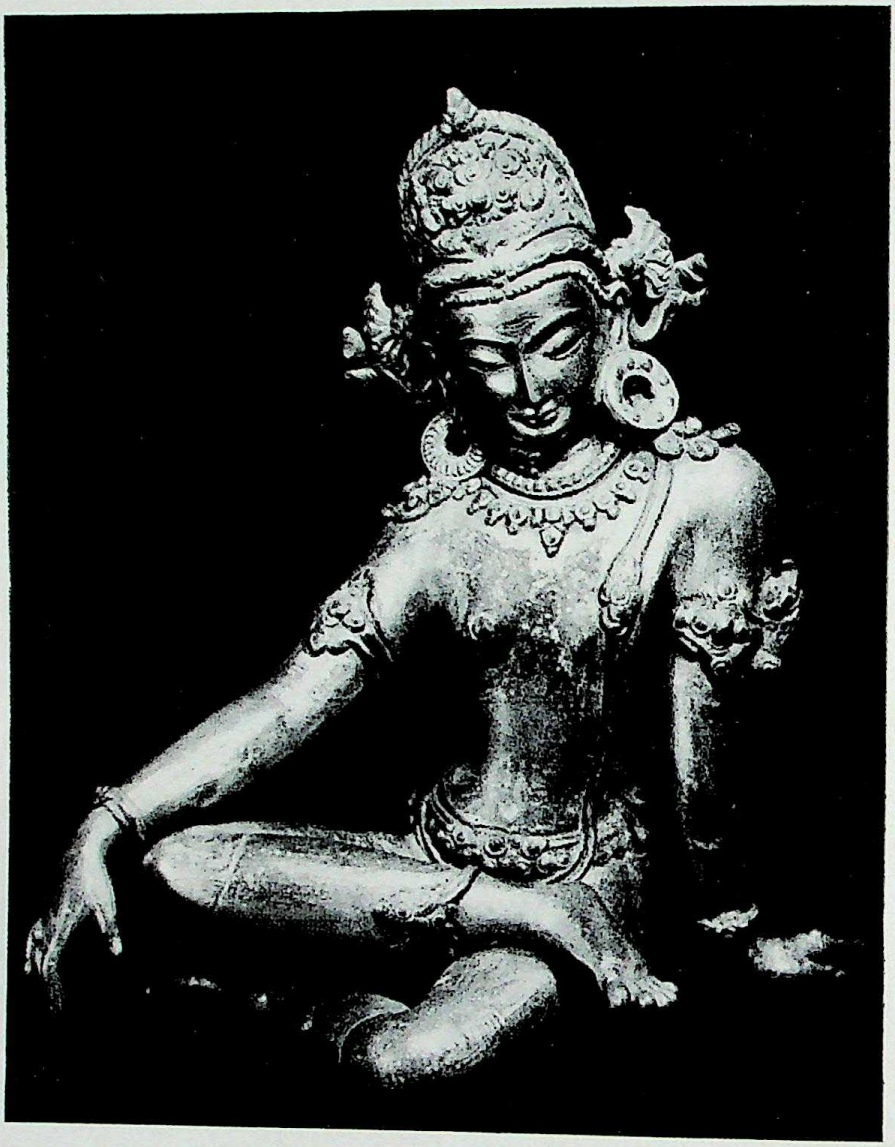

Fig. 28. Indra, with eye horizontally on forehead, 13th-14th century A.D. Nepal.

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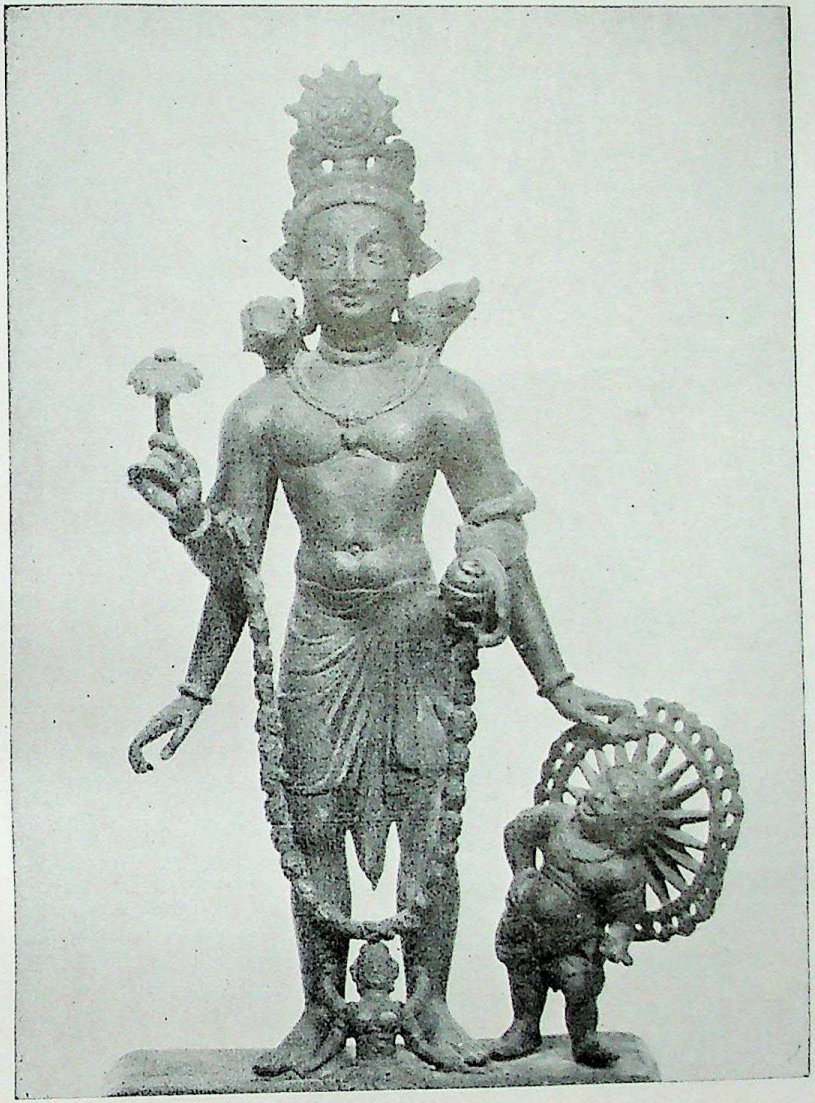

Fig. 29. Vishṇu with personified weapons, late Gandhāra, 4th century A.D., Museum fur Volkerkunde, Berlin.

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Fig. 30. Narasiṁha resting chin on *gadā* handle, Gurjara Pratīhāra 9th century A.D., Brahmeśwar temple, Chambā.

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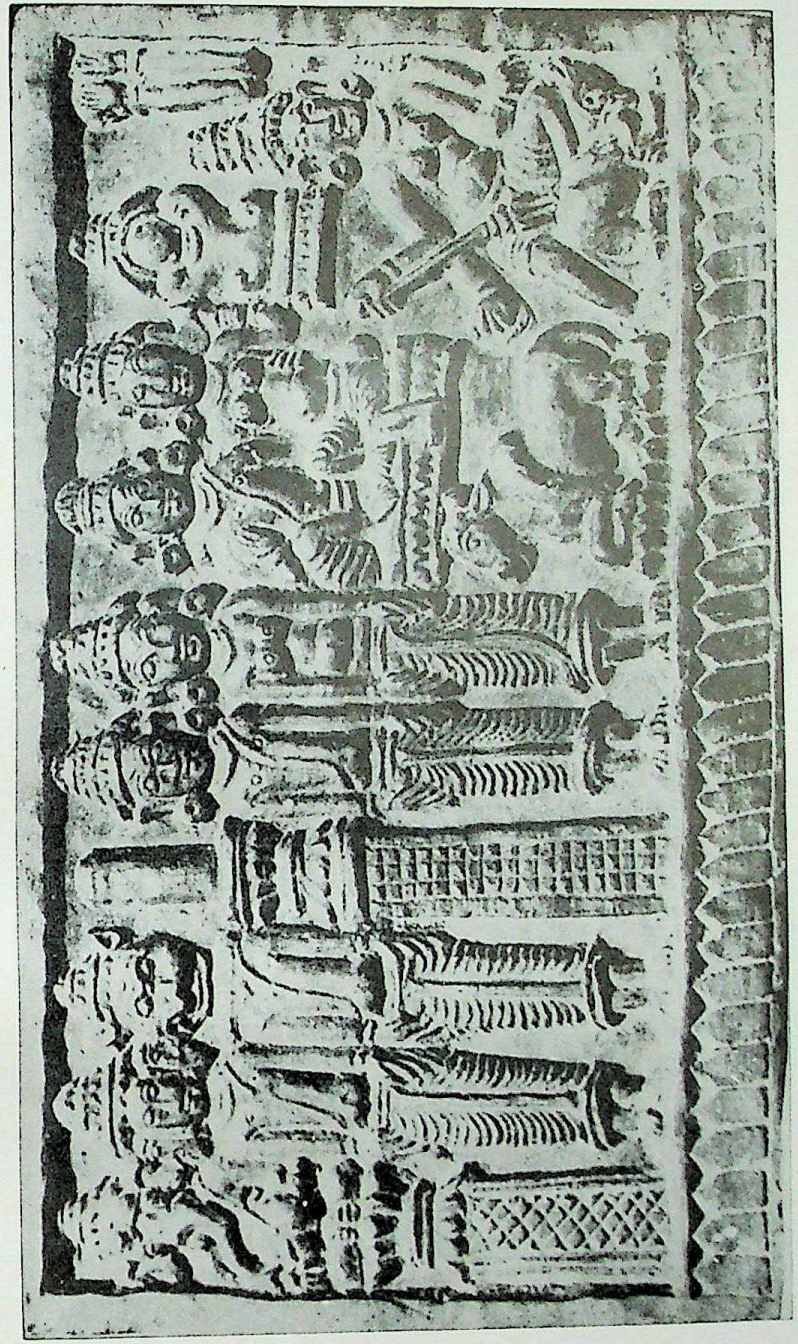

Fig. 31. Group of deities, on the famous early plaque, Pallava, 4th century A.D., Peddamuḍiyam, Āndhra Pradesh.

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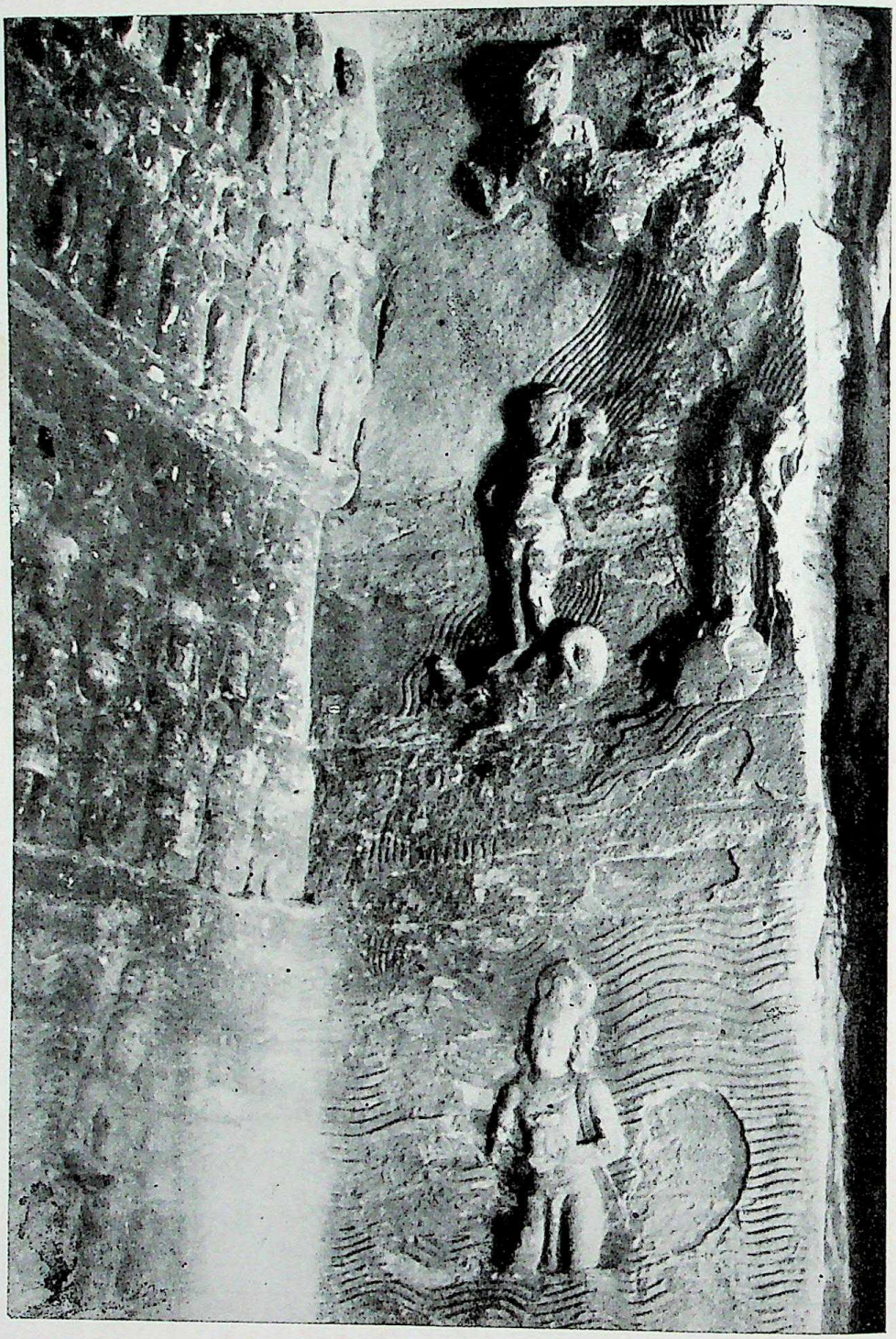

Fig. 32. *Saṅgama* Of Gaṅgā and Yamunā representation in the Varāha cave, Gupta, 4th century A.D., Udayagiri, Central India.

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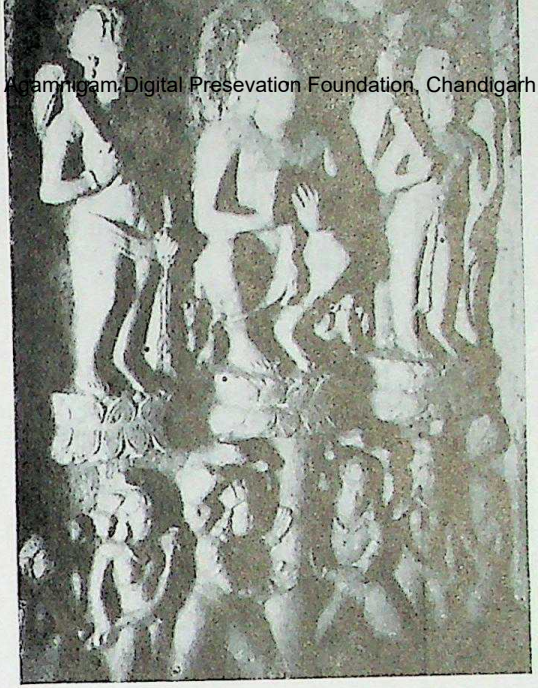

Fig. 33. Shaking the lotus stalk, Sātavāhana, 2nd century, A.D., Kanheri, Western India.

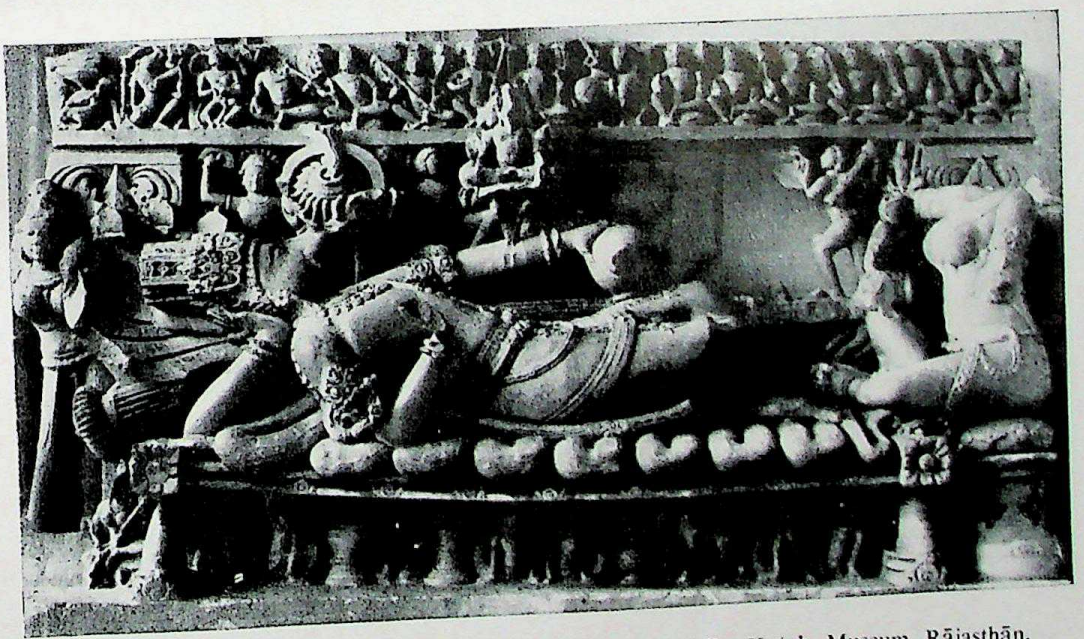

Fig. 34. Śeshaśāyi panel, Gurjara Pratīhāra, 10th century A.D., Koṭah Museum, Rājasthān.

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Fig. 35. Garuḍa on seal, Gupta, 5th century A.D.

Fig. 36. Garuḍa on copper coin of Chandragupta II, 4th century A.D.

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Fig. 37. *Chaturmukha liṅga*, Gupta, 5th century A.D., Nāchnā.

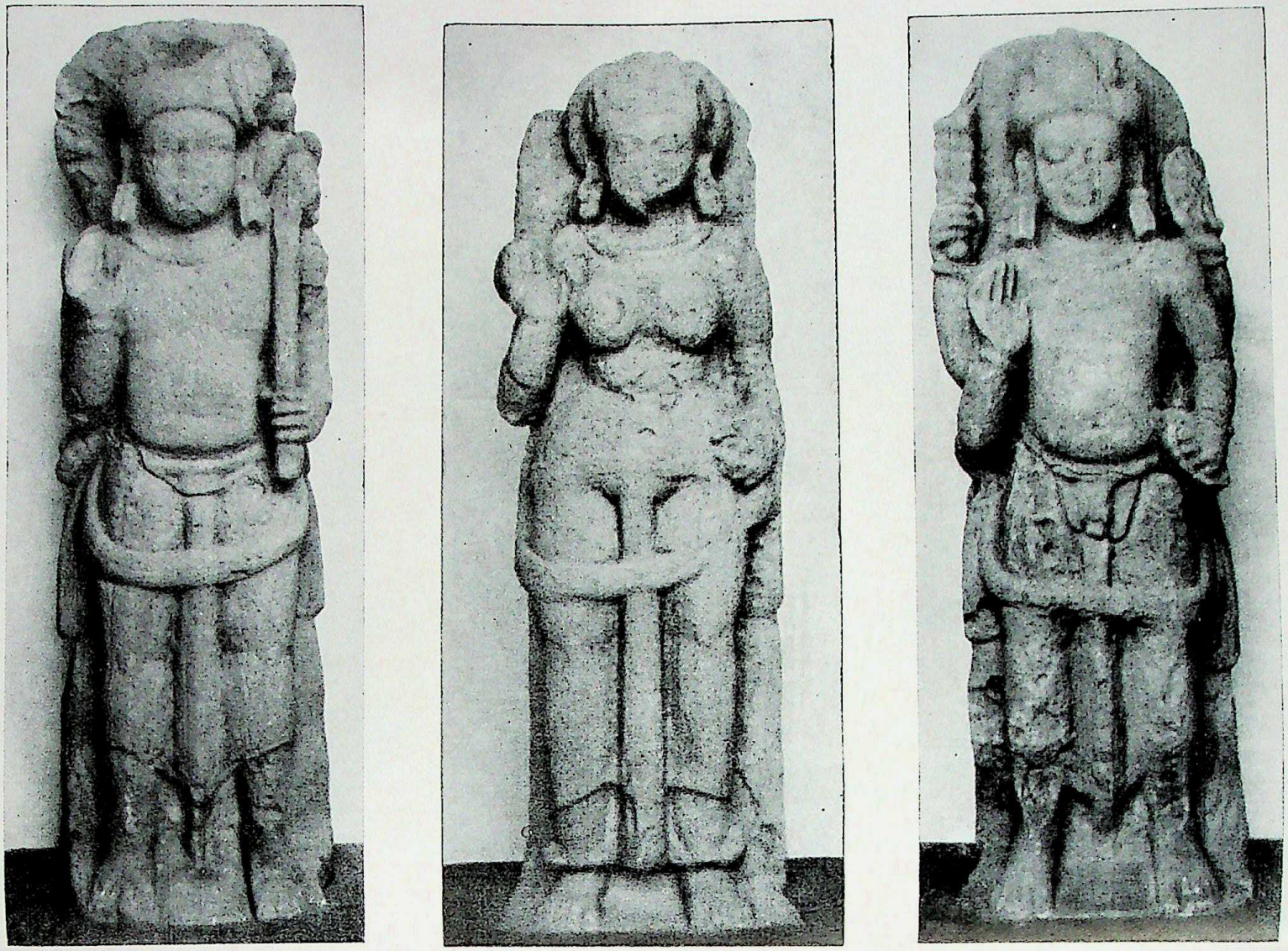

Fig. 38. Saṁkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva and Ekānamśā, Kushāṇa-Gupta transition, 2nd 3rd century A.D., Pāṭna, Museum.

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Fig. 39. Row of *grahas* or planets, note the absence of Ketu, Gupta, 5th century A.D., Sārnāth, Indian Museum.

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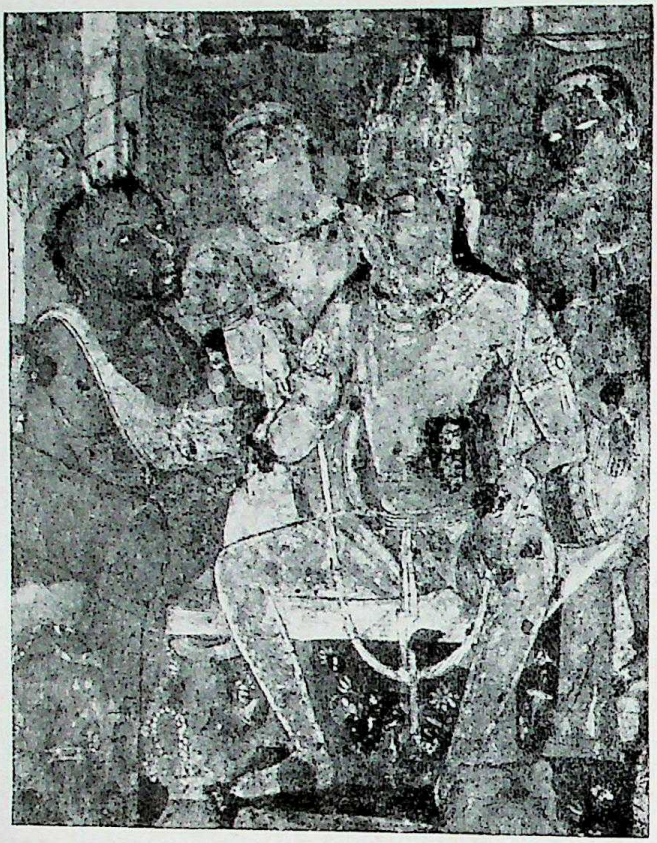

Fig, 42. An episode from the Vessantara Jātaka, note the element of *kshayavṛiddhi* effectively followed, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajaṇṭā.

Fig. 44. Back view of a celestial, note the element of *kshayavṛiddhi*, Rāshṭrakūṭa, 8th century A.D., Ellora.

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Fig. 43. Palace scene, note the element of *kshayavṛiddhi* effectively followed, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajaṇṭā.

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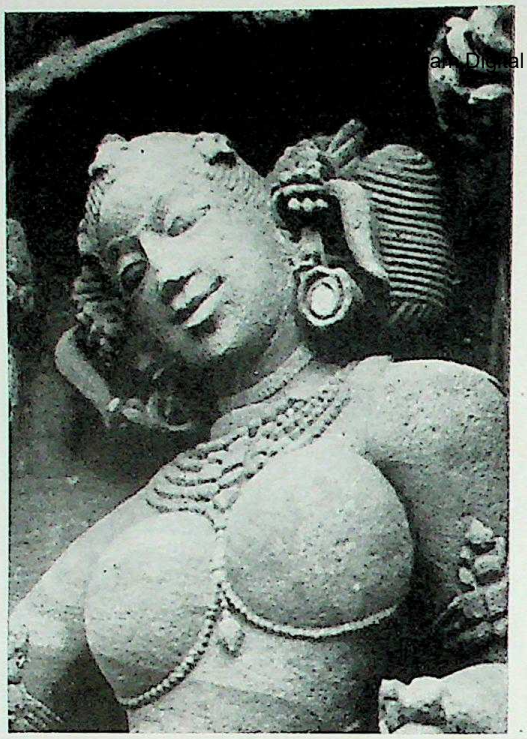

Fig. 53. *Kuntala*, hair variety, Gurjara Pratīhāra, 10th century A.D., Kauśāmbī.

Fig. 55. *Taraṅga*, hair variety, Eastern Gaṅga, 10th century A.D., Bhubaneśvar.

Fig. 54. *Dakshiṇāvarta*, hair variety, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ellora.

Fig. 56. *Siṁhakesara*, hair variety, Gurjara Pratīhāra, 9th century A.D., Rājīm.

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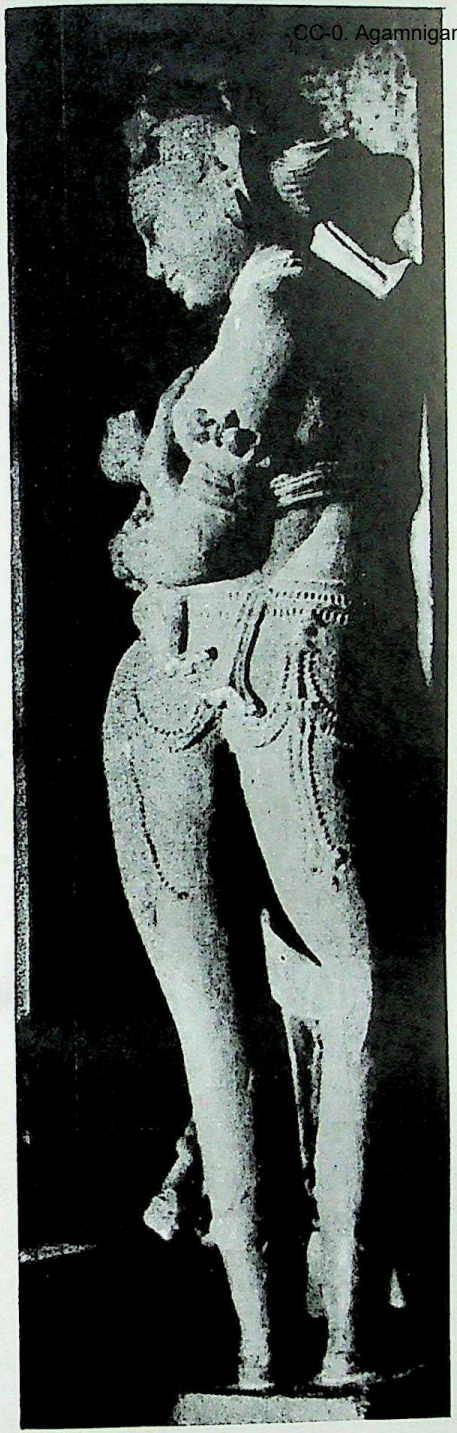

Fig. 58. *Satya*, variety in art form, Chandella, 10th century A.D., Khajuraho.

Fig. 59. *Vaiṇika*, variety in art form, Chandella, 10th century A.D., Khajuraho.

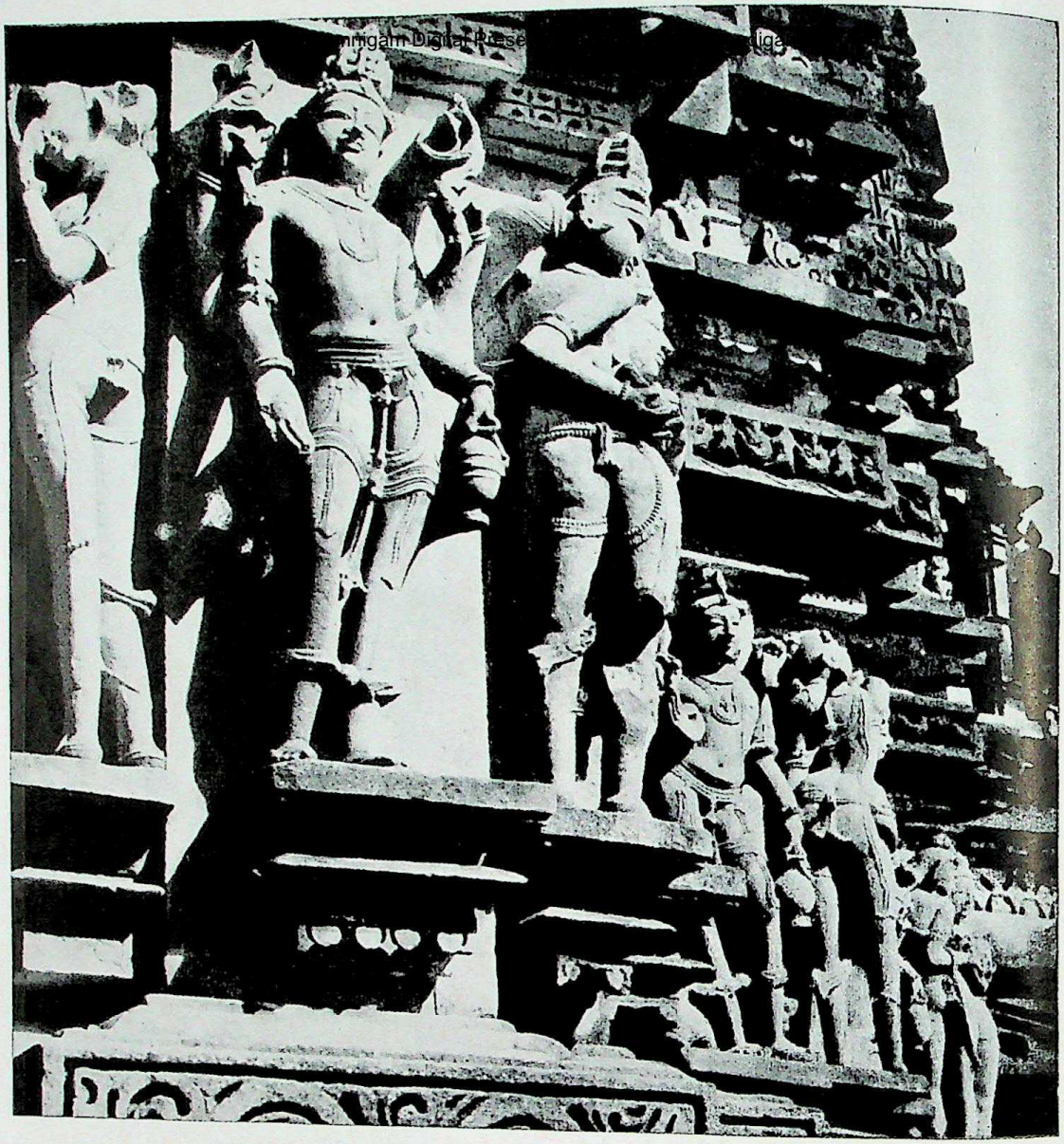

Fig. 60. *Nāgara*, variety in art form, Chandella, 10th century A.D., Khajuraho.

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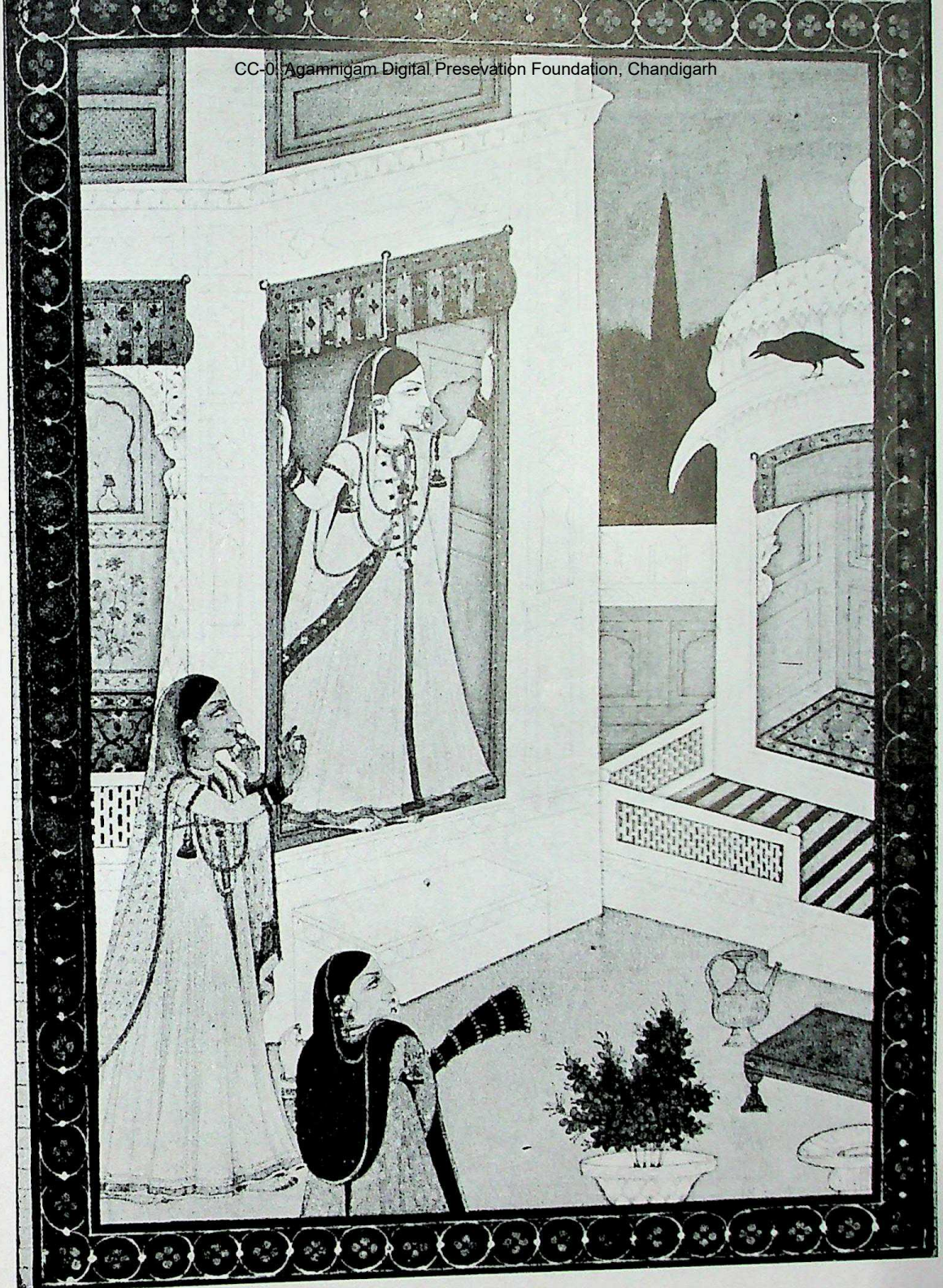

Fig. 61. The lovelorn damsel separated from her lover welcoming the caw of the crow indicating his speedy arrival, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D.

Fig. 62. *Vāsakasajjikā*, damsel attired and decked awaiting her lover, Kāngrā, 18th century A.D., National Museum.

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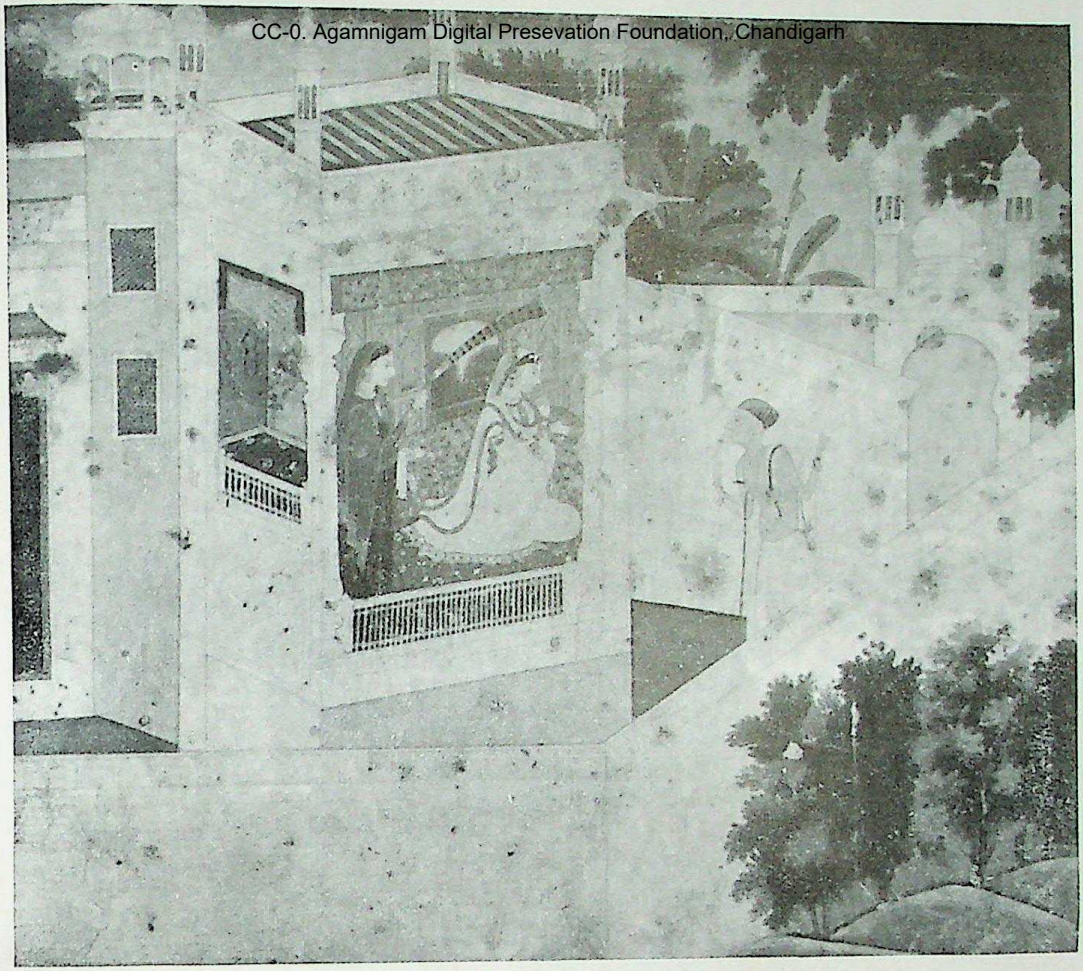

Fig 68. *Brāhmaṇa* messenger receiving Rukmiṇī's message to Kṛishṇa, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṇḍīgarh.

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Fig. 69. Kinnarī, note human face and bust and equine body, Sātavāhana, 2nd century B.C., Bhājā cave, Western India.

Fig. 70. Kinnarī, note equine face and human body, Śuṅga 1st century B.C., Bodhgayā.

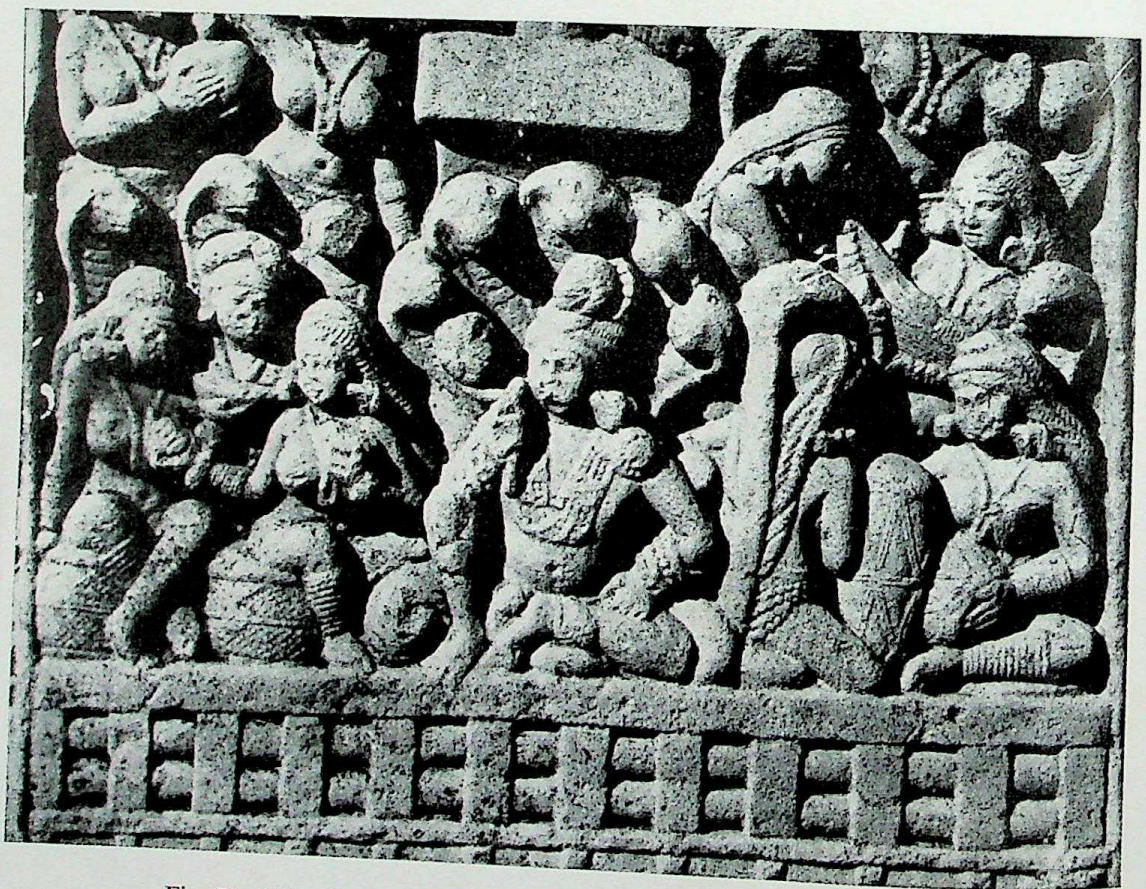

Fig. 71. Nāgarāja and Naginīs, Sātavāhana, 2nd century B.C. Sāñchī.

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Fig. 72. Pramathagaṇas, Pāṇḍya, 8th century A.D., Kaḷugumalai.

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Fig. 73. Vasantasenā pursued by Śakāra and Viṭa, Kushāṇa, 1st century A.D. Mathurā, National Museum.

Fig. 74. Asuras of the Tripura hosts, note their tear-stained beautiful consorts dissuading them from fighting, Choḷa 1,000 A.D., Bṛihadīśvara temple, Tañjāvūr.

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Fig. 75. *Abhisārīkā* going to her place of tryst in the dark, note the frightful Piśāchī frightening her, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., National Museum.

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Fig. 76. Dwarf *vāmanikā* maid with the princess, Gurjara Pratīhāra, 8th century A.D., Chittorgarh.

Fig. 78. Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Sītā and Hanumān, note the crown of Rāma and the decked hair of Lakshmaṇa, *Choḷa 1000 A.D.*, Vaḍakkupaṇayūr, Madras Museum.

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Fig. 79. Elephant-riders, note the *mahauts*, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajaṇṭā.

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Fig. 80. Medallion illustrating Porus and Alexander fighting, 4th century B.C., Greek, Indian Museum.

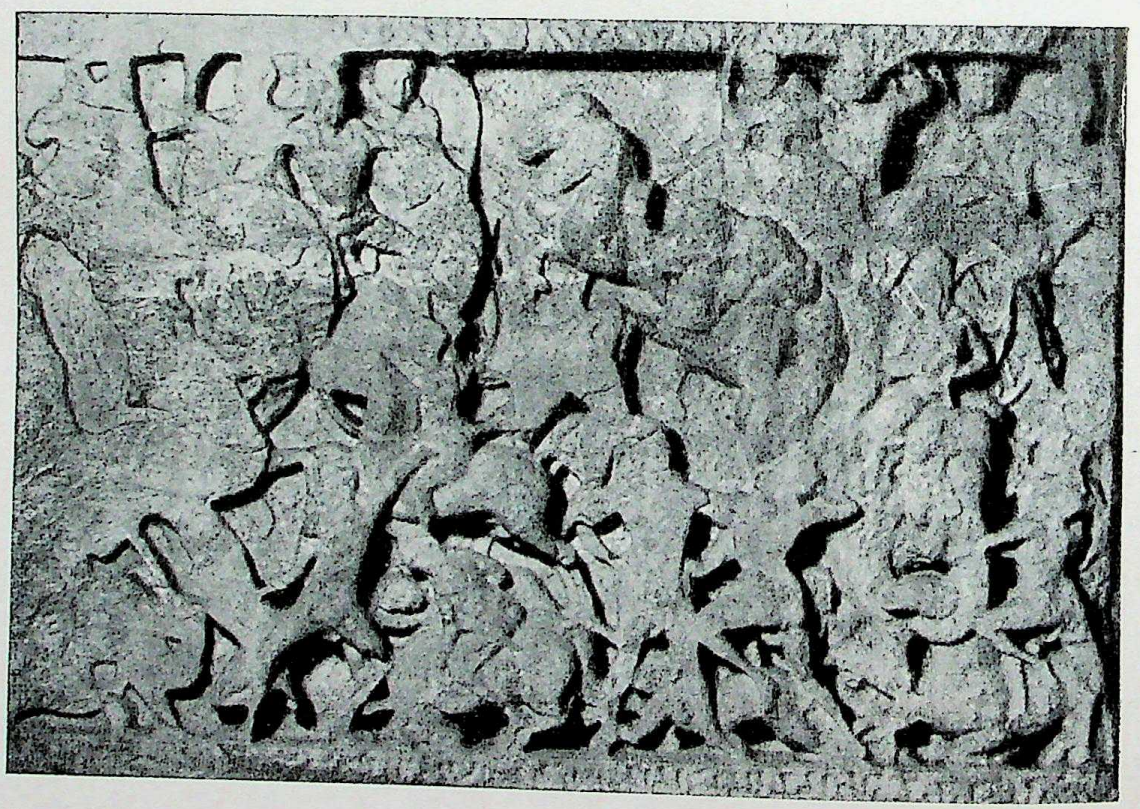

Fig. 81. Battle scene, note the ethical note of *dharmayuddha*, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D. Amarāvatī, Madras Museum.

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Fig. 82. Bazar scene from Vessantara *jātaka* Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajaṇṭā.

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Fig. 83. Dance and musical orchestra from Mahājanaka *jātaka*, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajaṇṭā.

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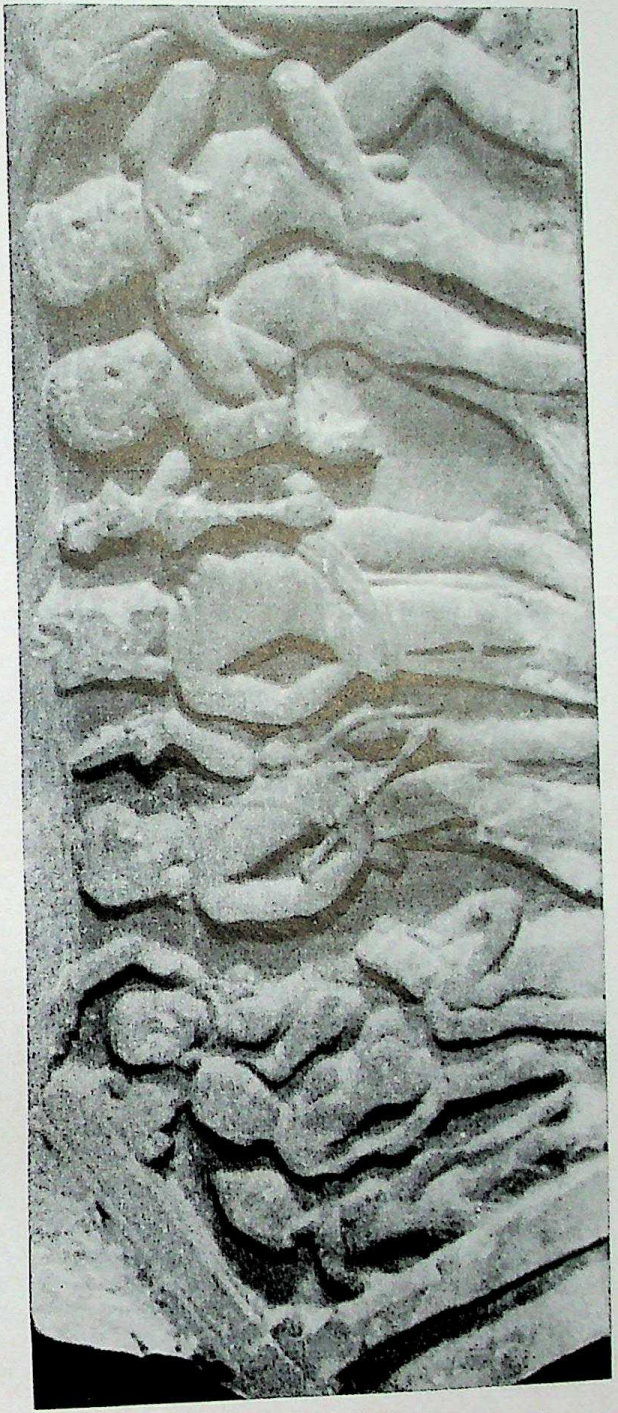

Fig. 84. Bhīma and Jarāsandha wrestling, Gupta, 5th century A.D., Lucknow Museum.

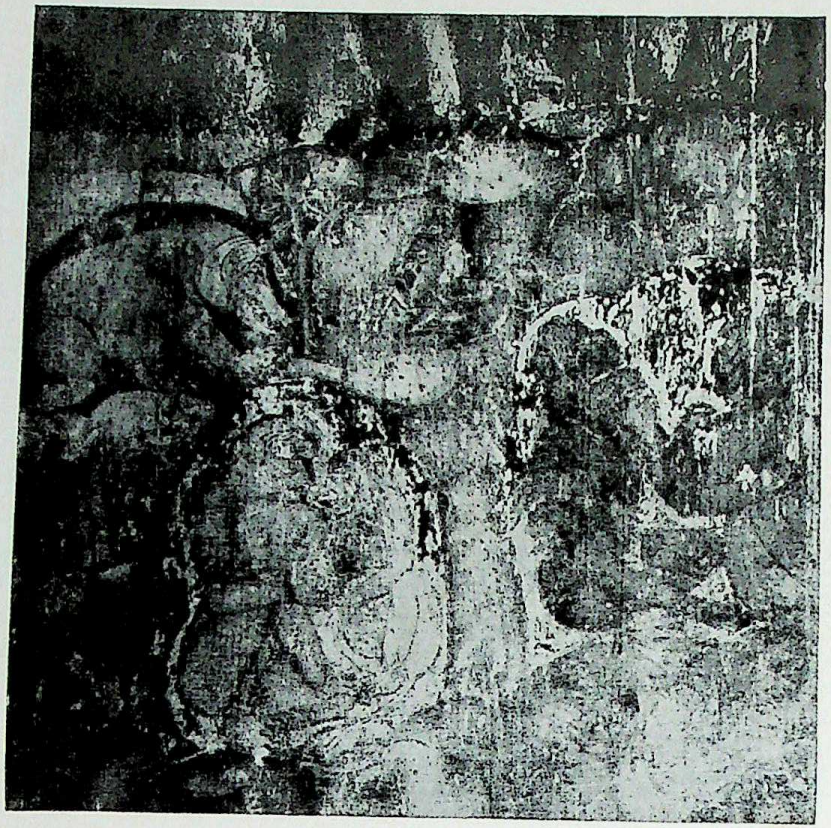

Fig. 85. Animals in natural caverns, Choḷa. 1000 A.D., Bṛihadīśvara temple, Tañjāvūr.

Fig. 86. Animals in natural caverns, Choḷa, 12th century A.D., Airāvateśvara temple, Dārāsuram.

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Fig. 87. River Nairañjarā, indicated by ripples, Sātavāhana 2nd century B.C. Amarāvatī, Madras Museum.

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Fig. 88. Gaṅgā as *tripathagā* or triple stream mermaid-like on the locks of Gaṅgādhara, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Elephaṇṭā.

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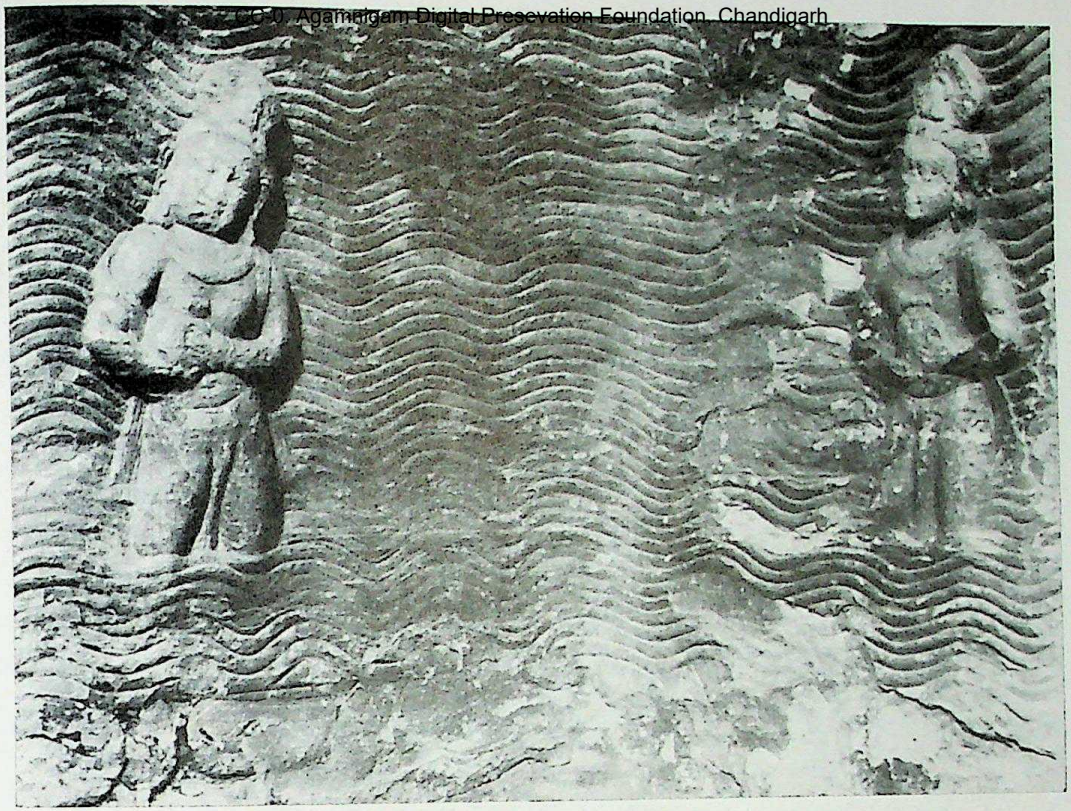

Fig. 89. Ocean as *Ratnākara*, with gempot in hand and wavy background, two at each end of the Varāha cave, Gupta, 4th century A.D., Udayagiri, Central India.

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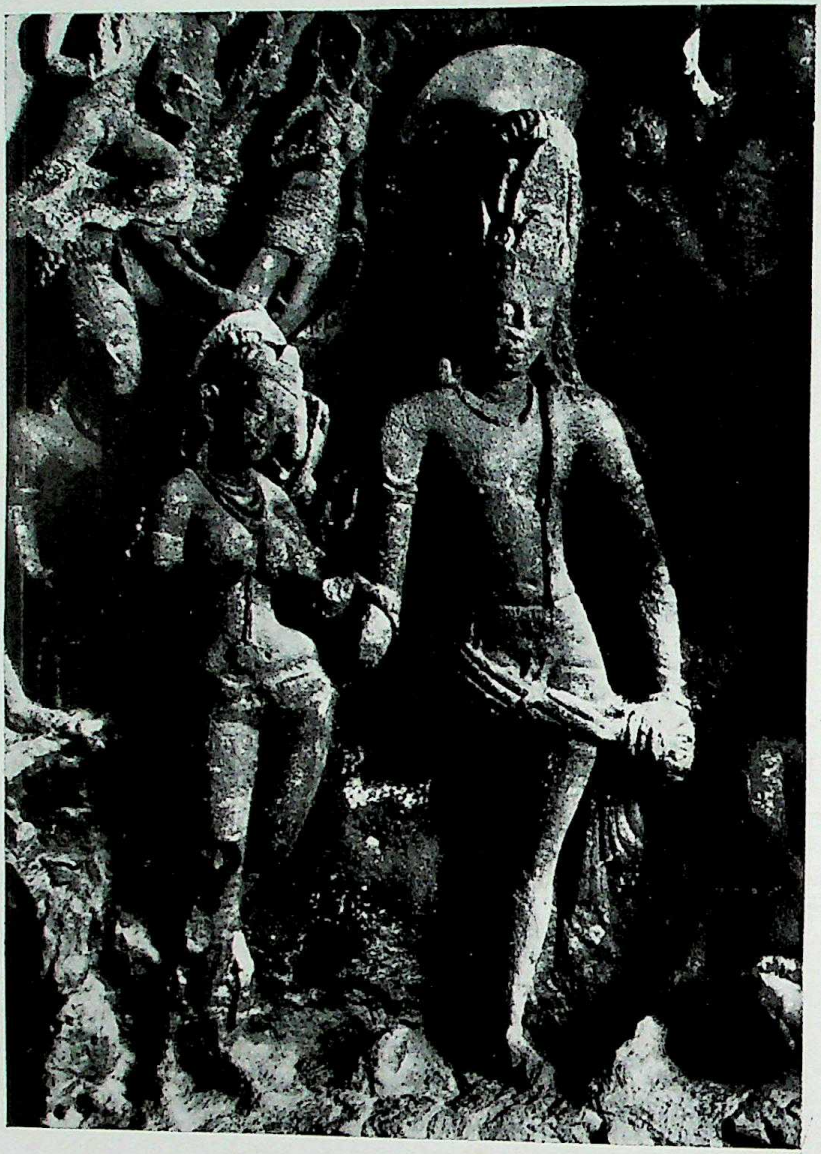

Fig. 90. Himavān giving away Umā in marriage to Siva, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Elephaṇṭā.

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91. Himavān and Menā discussing Umā's wedlock, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D. Ellora.

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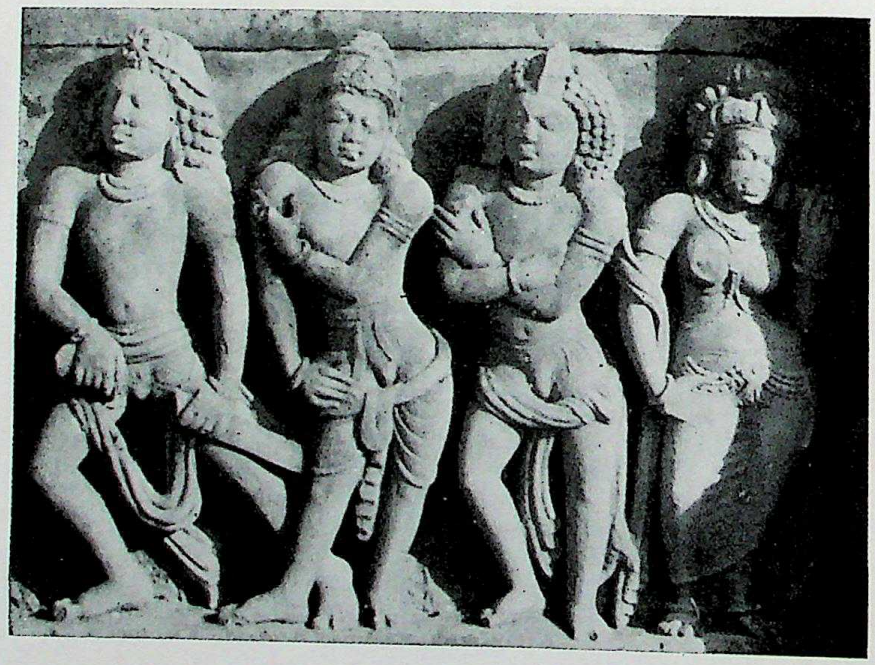
93. *Śūla* or trident of Śiva, personified with trident on his head, Gupta, 5th century A.D., National Museum.



92. Sudarśana *Chakra*, with *chakra* on head, Gupta, 5th century, A.D., Deogarh.

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94. Water indicated by aquatic objects from Mahākapi *jātaka* Sātavāhana 2nd century B.C., Sāñchi,.

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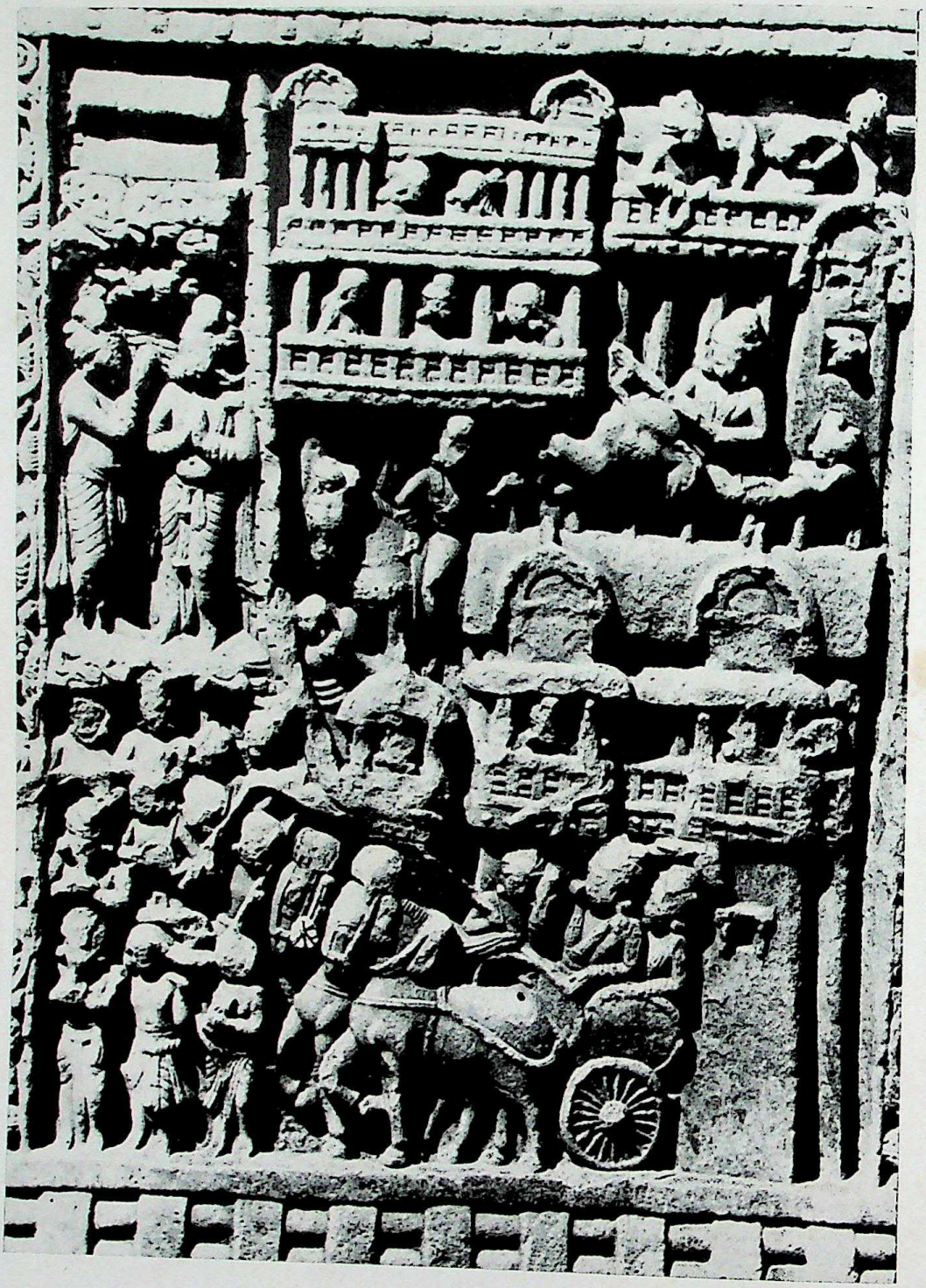

95. City gateway, Sātavāhana, 2nd century, B.C., Sāñchī.

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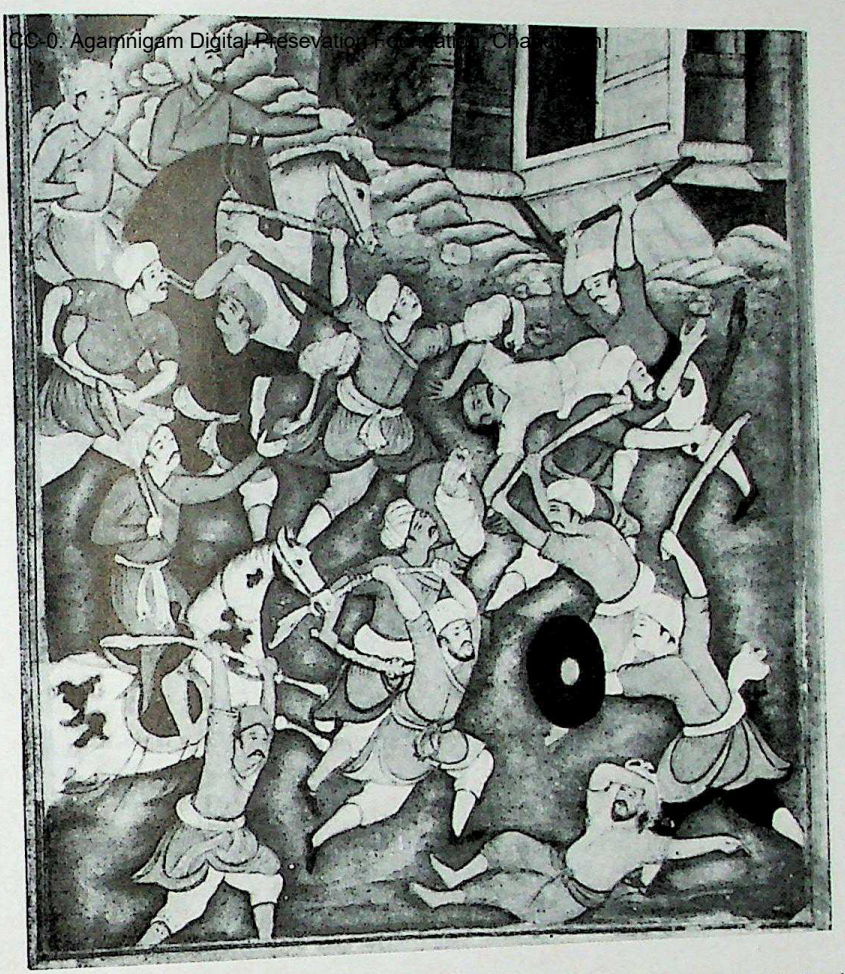

96. Battle scene, from *Bābarnāmā*, Mughal school, 16th century A.D., National Museum.

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97. Cranes against clouds during the rains, Mewār school, 18th century A.D., National Museum.

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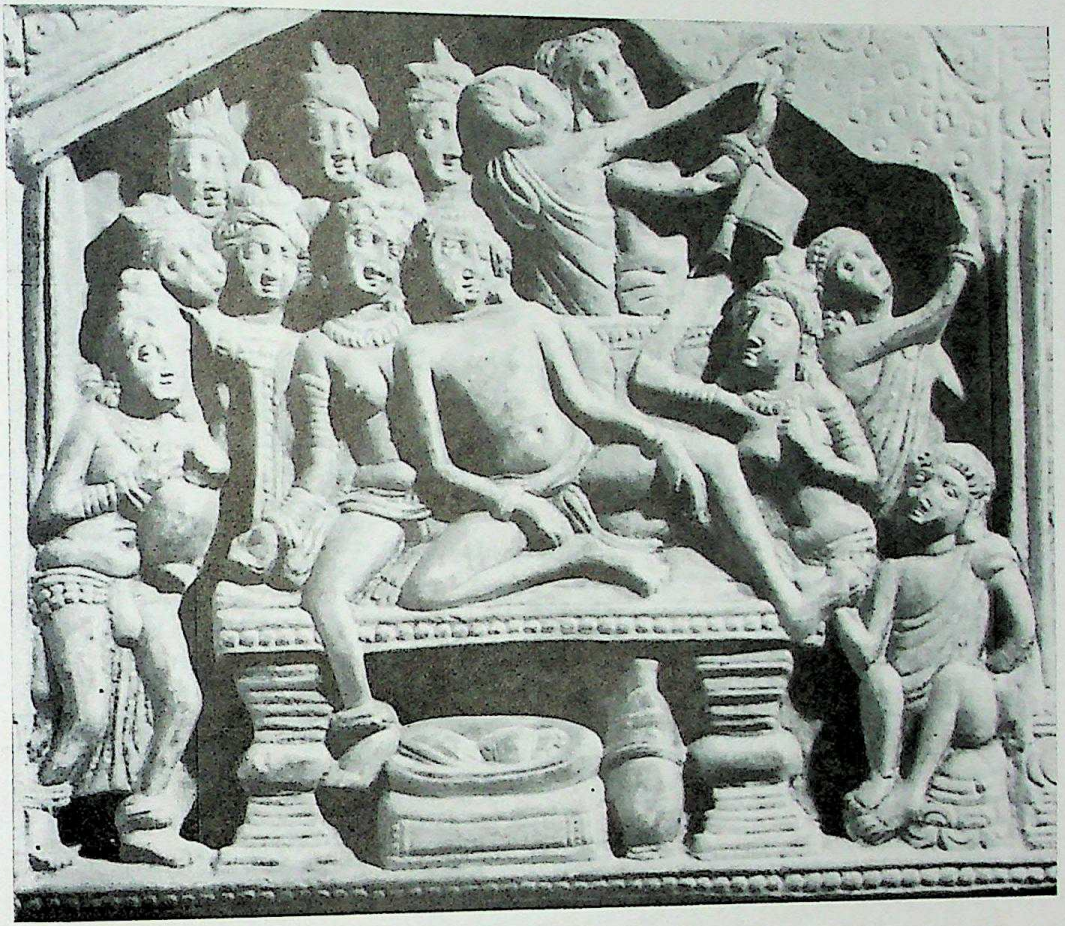

98. Māndhātā fallen, points to the sphere of the moon and stars, Ikshvāku, 2nd century A.D., Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa, National Museum.

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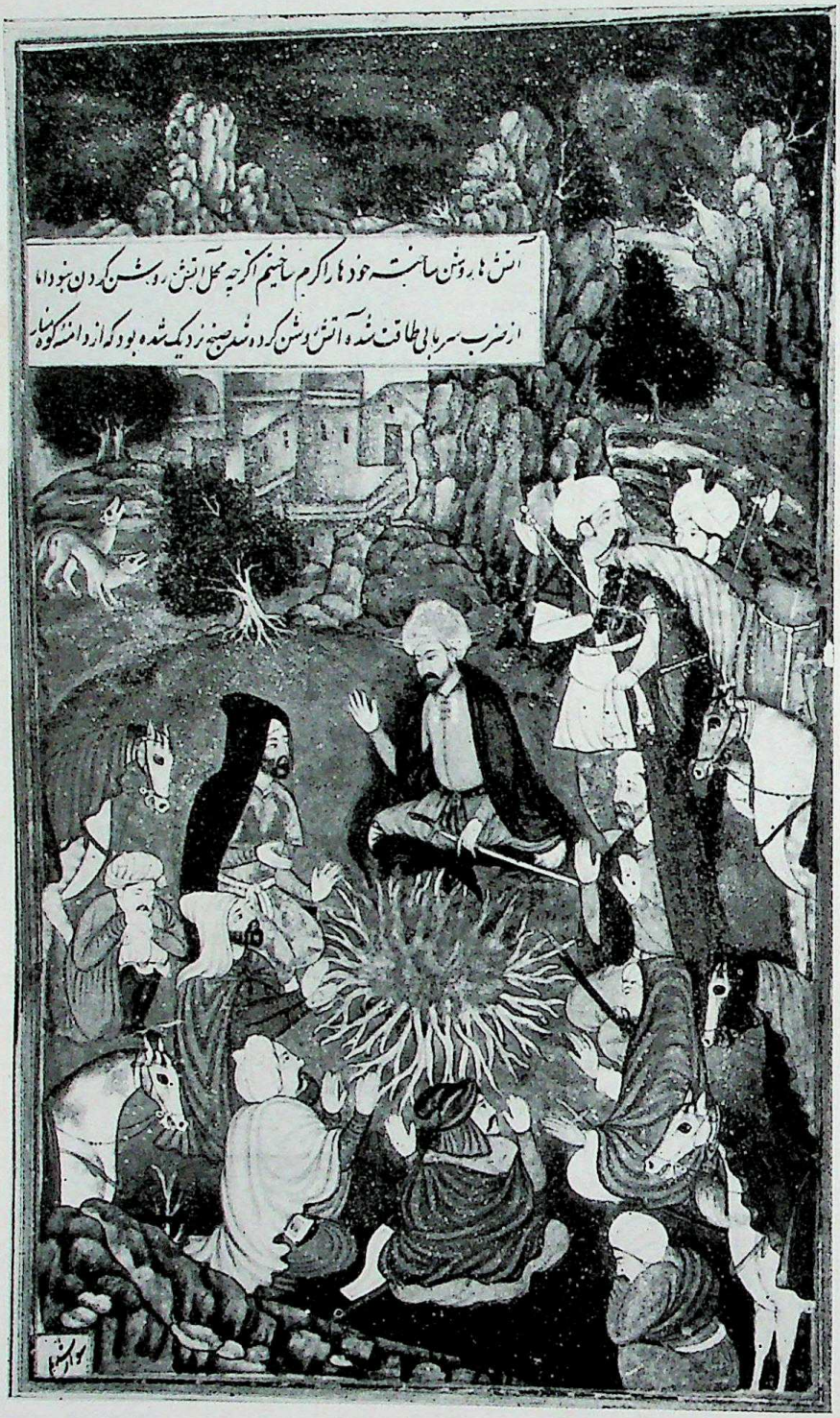

99. Cold on the hills, note the treatment of rocks and boulders, *Bābarnāmːā*, Mughal, 16th century A.D., A.D., National Museum.

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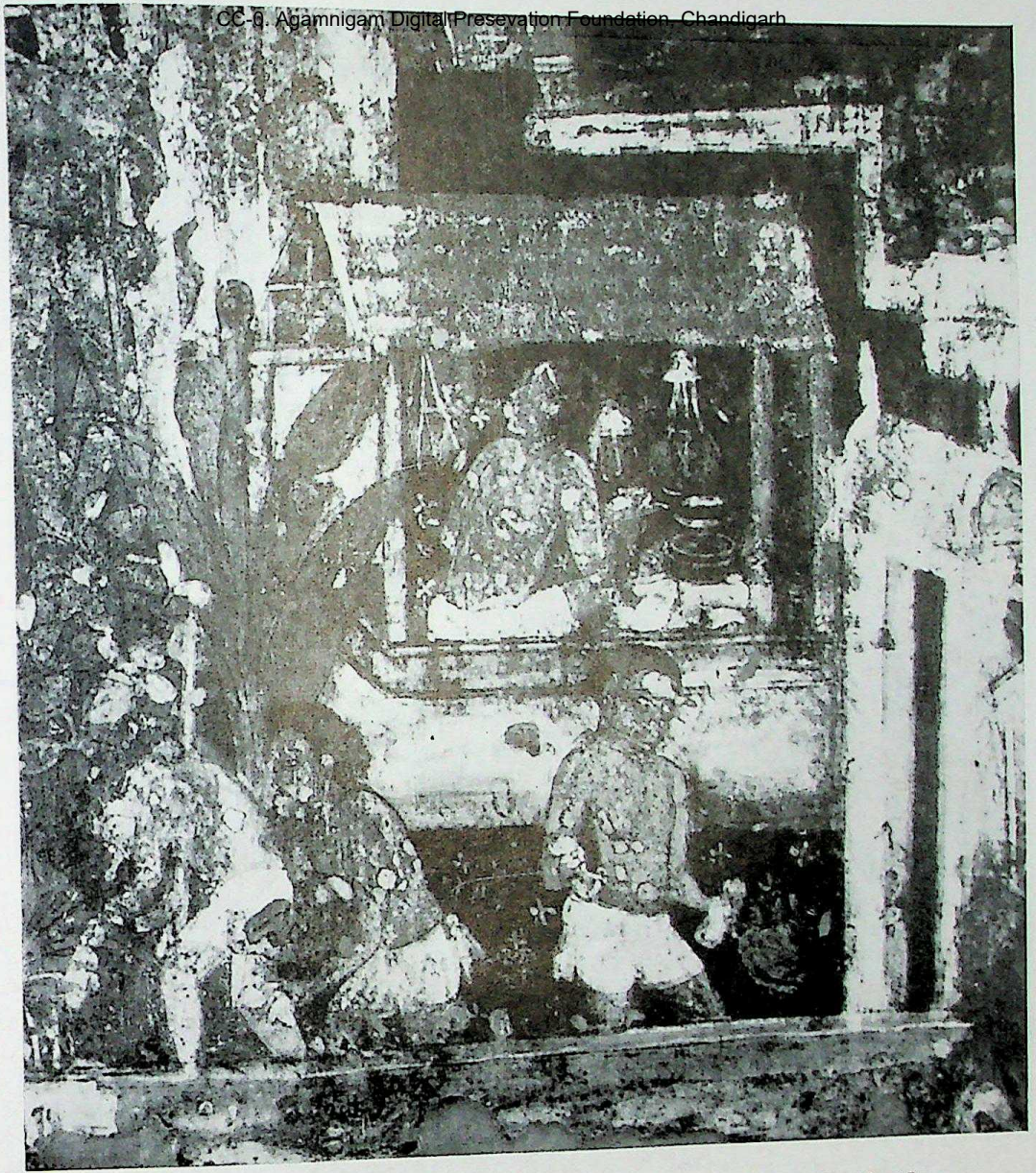

100. Traders in their shops on the roadway, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D. Ajaṇṭā.

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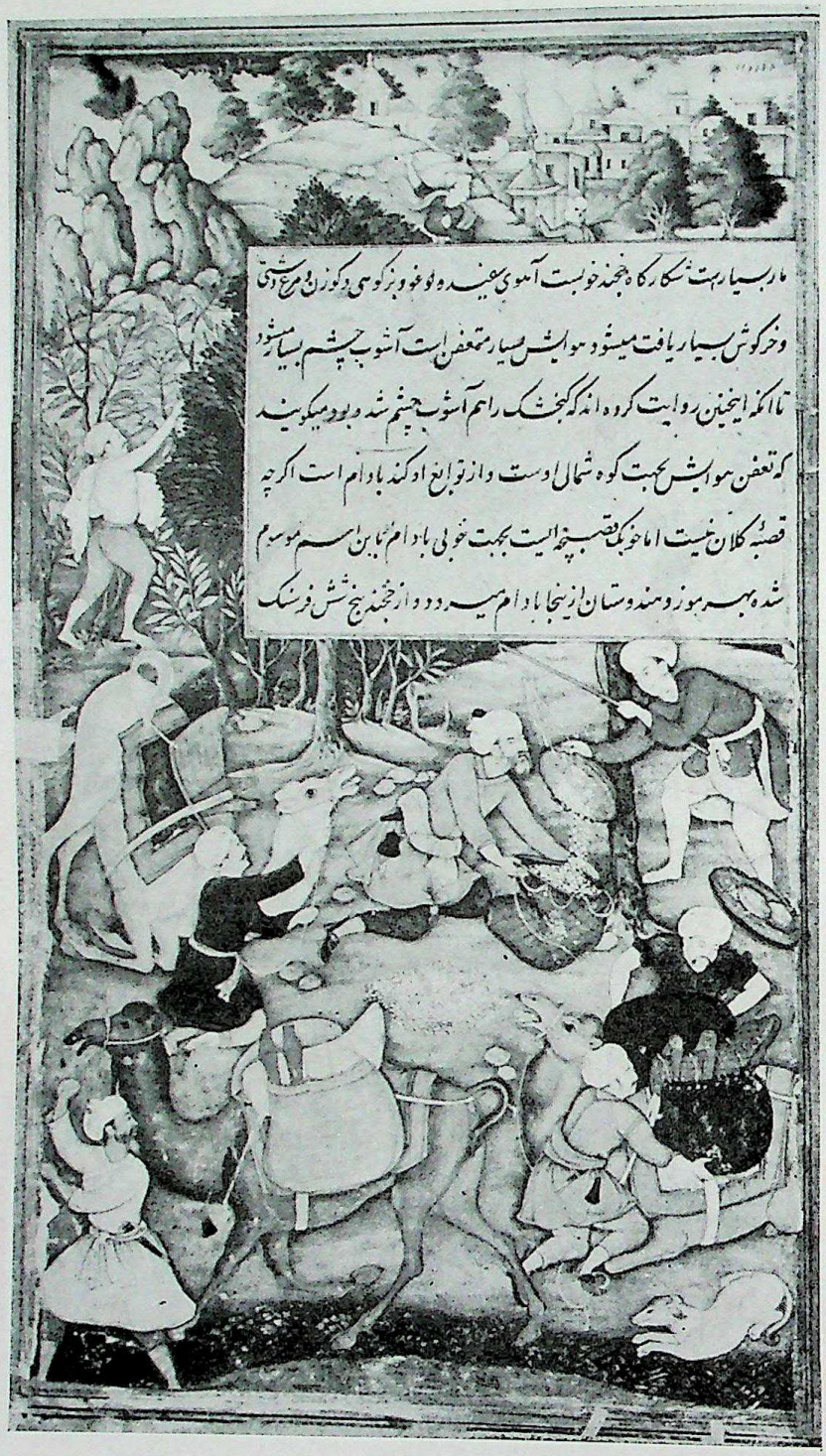

101. Camels of a caravan carrying merchandise, *Bābarnāmā*, Mughal school, 16th century A.D.

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102. Cows returning home, suggesting dusk, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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103. Night in Gokula, note suggestion of night by moon and stars, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., National Museum.

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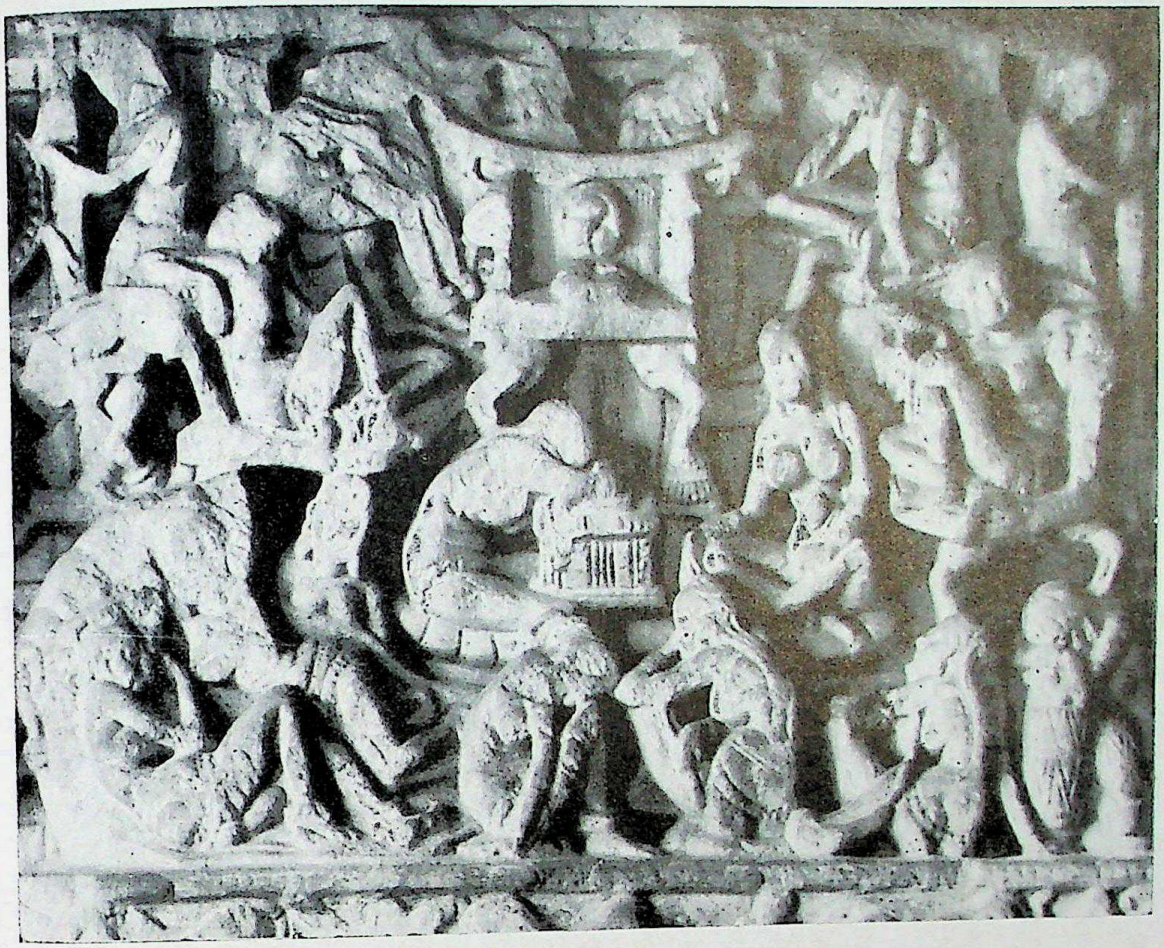

Fig. 104. Siddhārtha in his harem, note the sleeping women suggesting midnight, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D., Madras Museum.

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Fig. 105. Sleeping couple and prowling thief, suggesting midnight, Mughal school, Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

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Fig. 106. Buffaloes enjoying a dip in a pool, Sātavāhana, 2nd century B.C., Sāñchī.

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Fig. 107. Rigour of summer compels the snake to seek shade under the peacock's tail, Mewār school, 18th century A.D., National Museum.

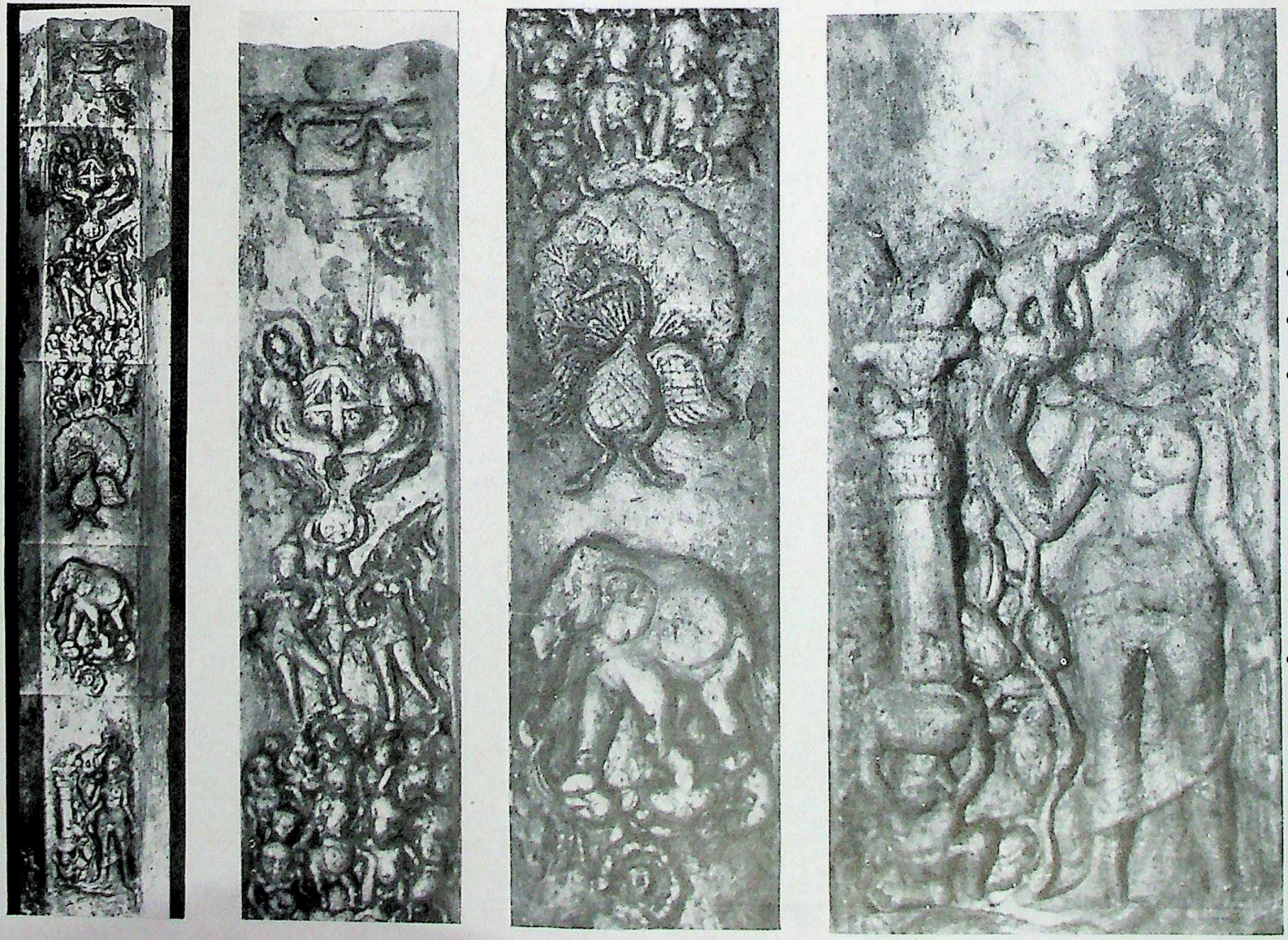

Fig. 109. Lālā Bhagat pillar frieze, illustrating sunrise and the bloom of the lotus, Śuṅga, 2nd century, B.C.

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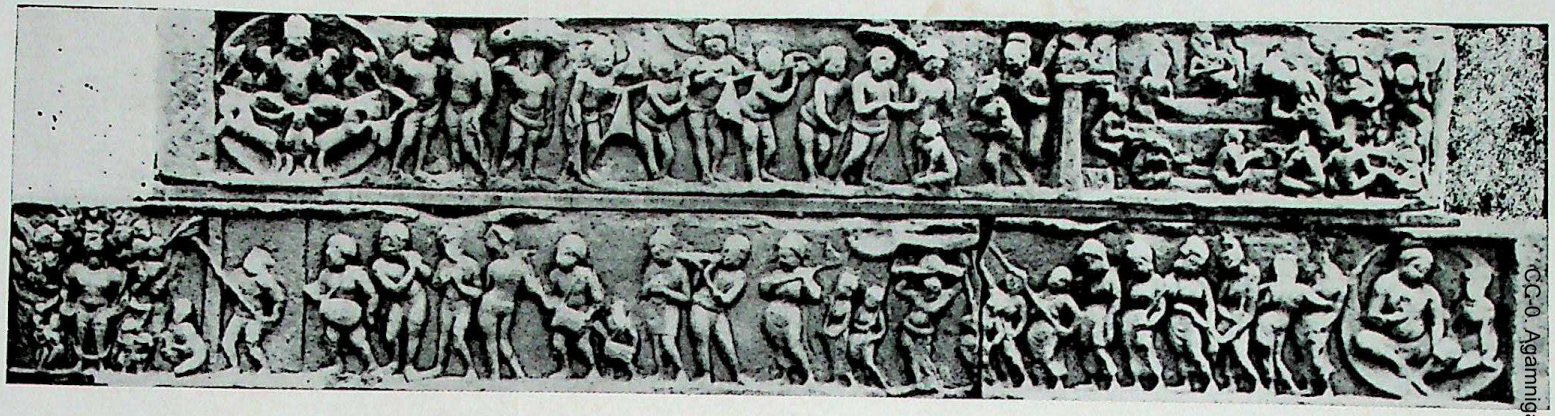

Fig. 110. Frieze illustrating dawn, noon and dusk and the events of the day, Gupta, 5th century A.D., Garhwā, Lucknow Museum.

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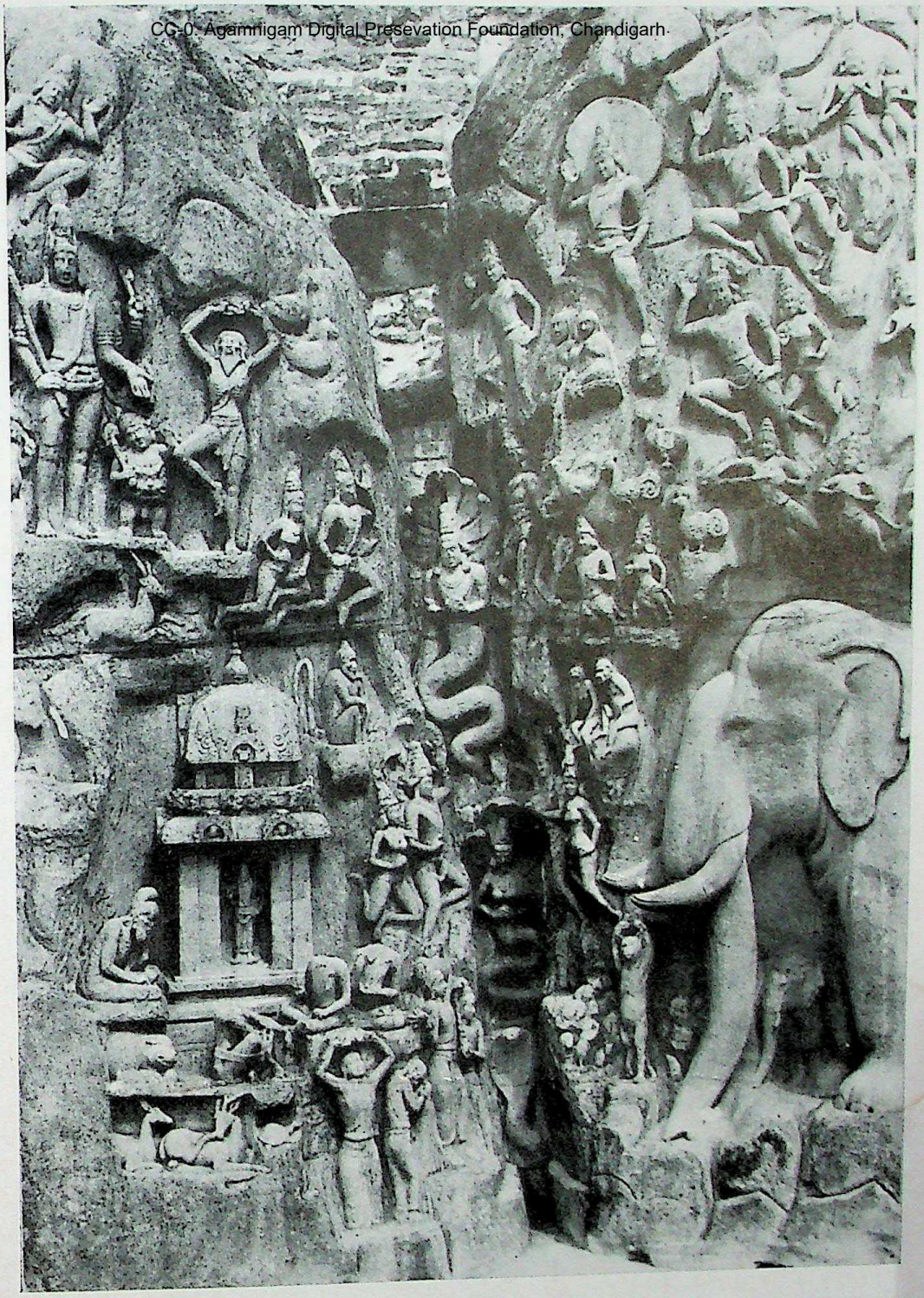

Fig. 111. Arjuna's penance at midday in mid-summer, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahābalipuram.

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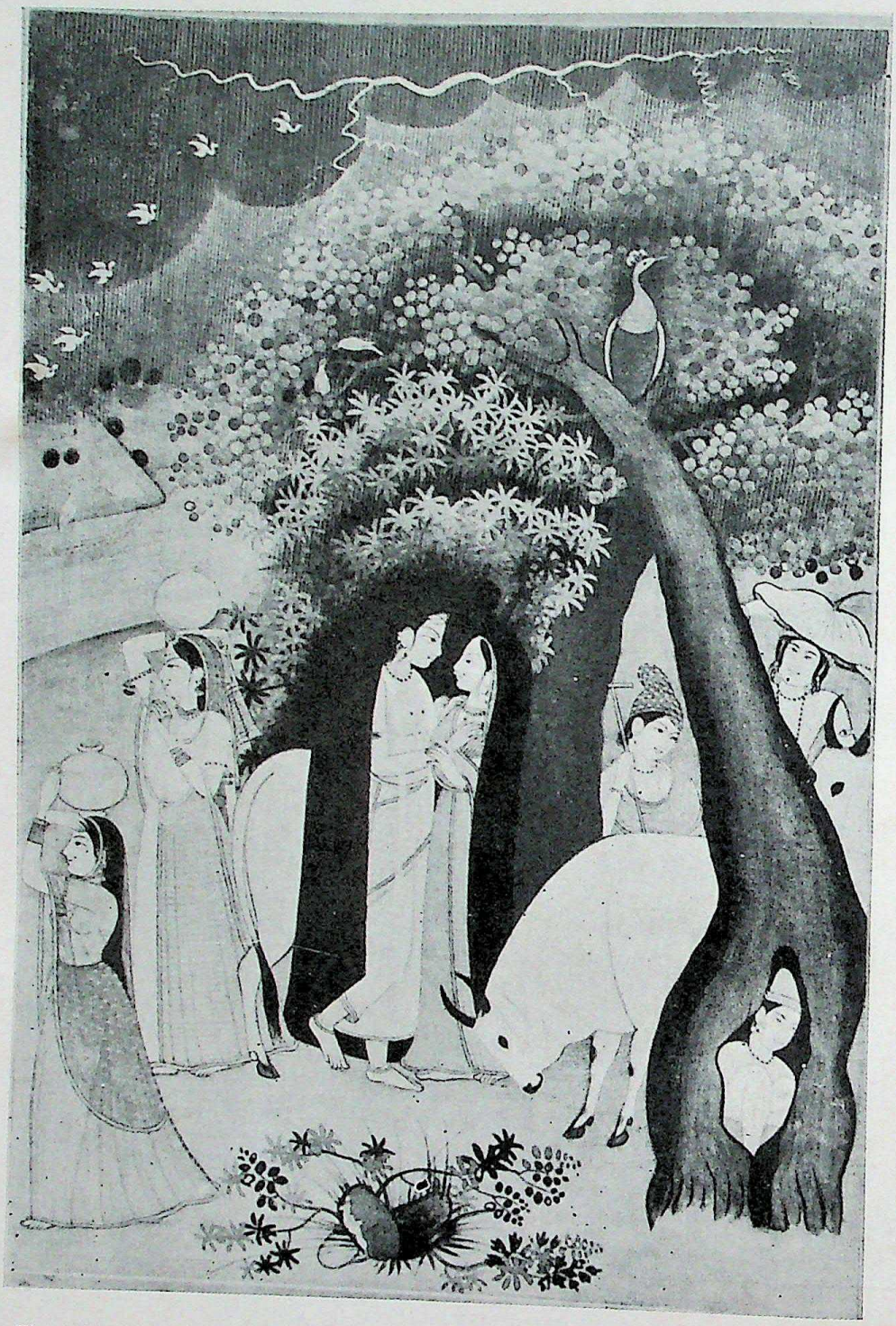

Fig. 112. Rādhā and Kṛishṇa caught in the rain, note the fast falling drops, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṇḍīgarh.

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Fig. 113. Gathering flowers in spring, Garhwāl school, 18th century A.D., Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṇḍīgarh.

Fig. 115. Damsel and child in a lotus pond, note the exposed length of lotus stalks suggesting water receding as it dries in summer, 5th century A.D., Dandan Oiliq, Central Asia.

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Fig. 114. A scene from Lossa *jātaka*, note the rigour of summer suggesting the elephant caught in the mire of fast-drying up pool, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D., Amarāvtī, Madras Museum.

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Fig. 116. Village girl in the field, note the crop suggesting autumn, Kāngrā school, 18th century A. D., National Museum.

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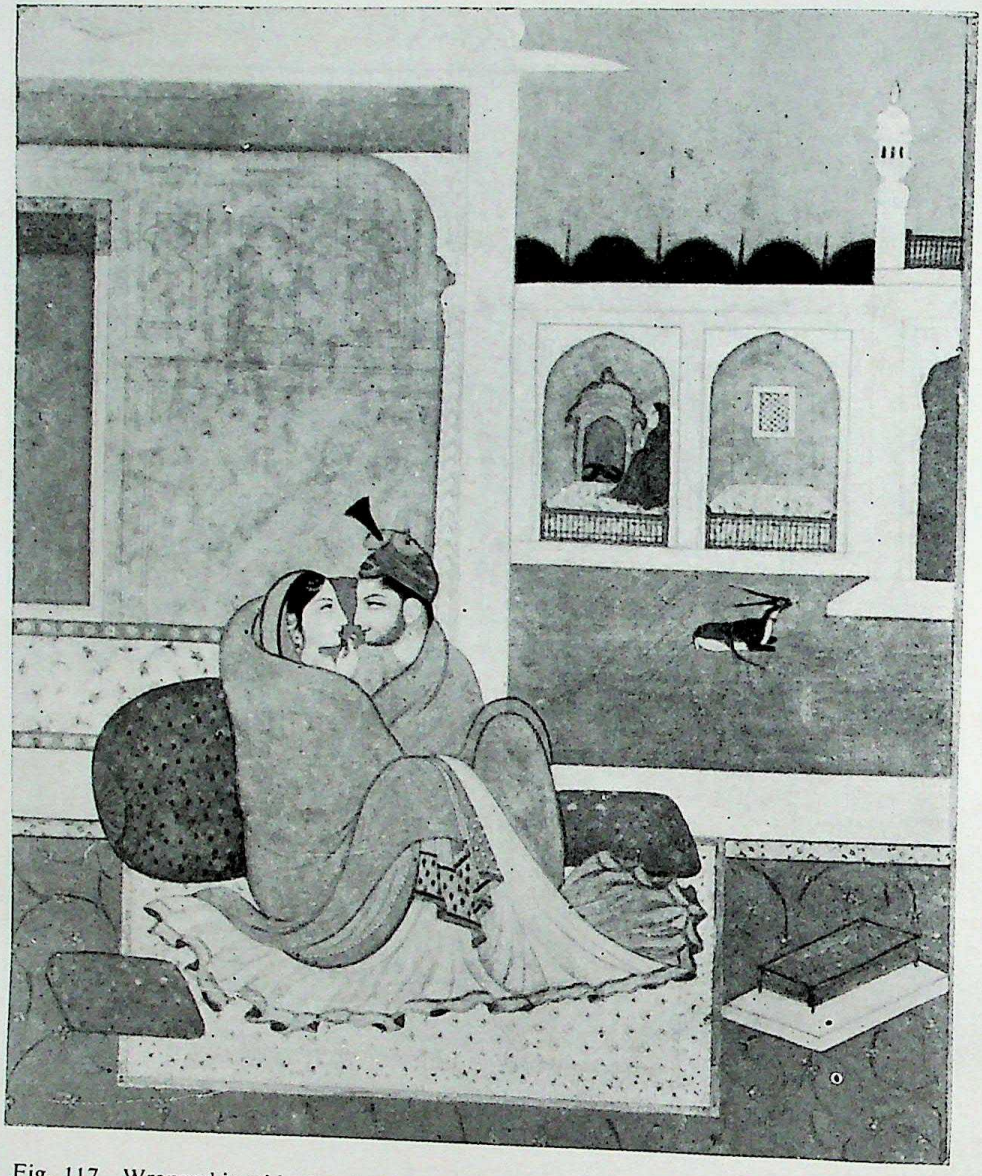

Fig. 117. Wrapped in a blanket, note the suggestion of the cold in winter, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., National Museum.

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Fig. 123. Śakuntalā looking back on the pretext of the thorn in the foot, by Ravi Varma, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Trivandrum.

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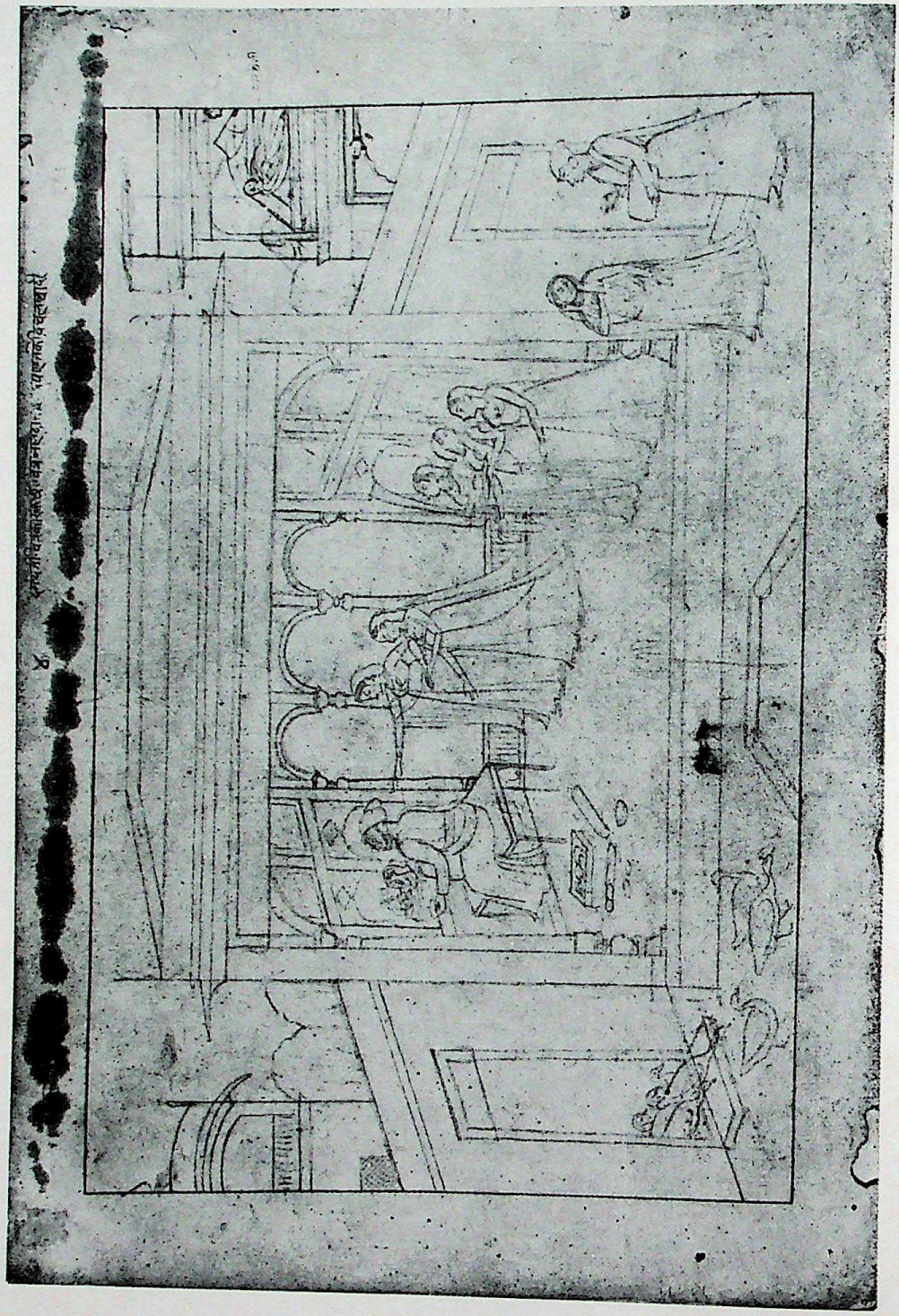

Fig. 124. Sketch of a painter painting Nala Damayantī in the palace, Kāngrā school, 18th century, A.D., National Museum.

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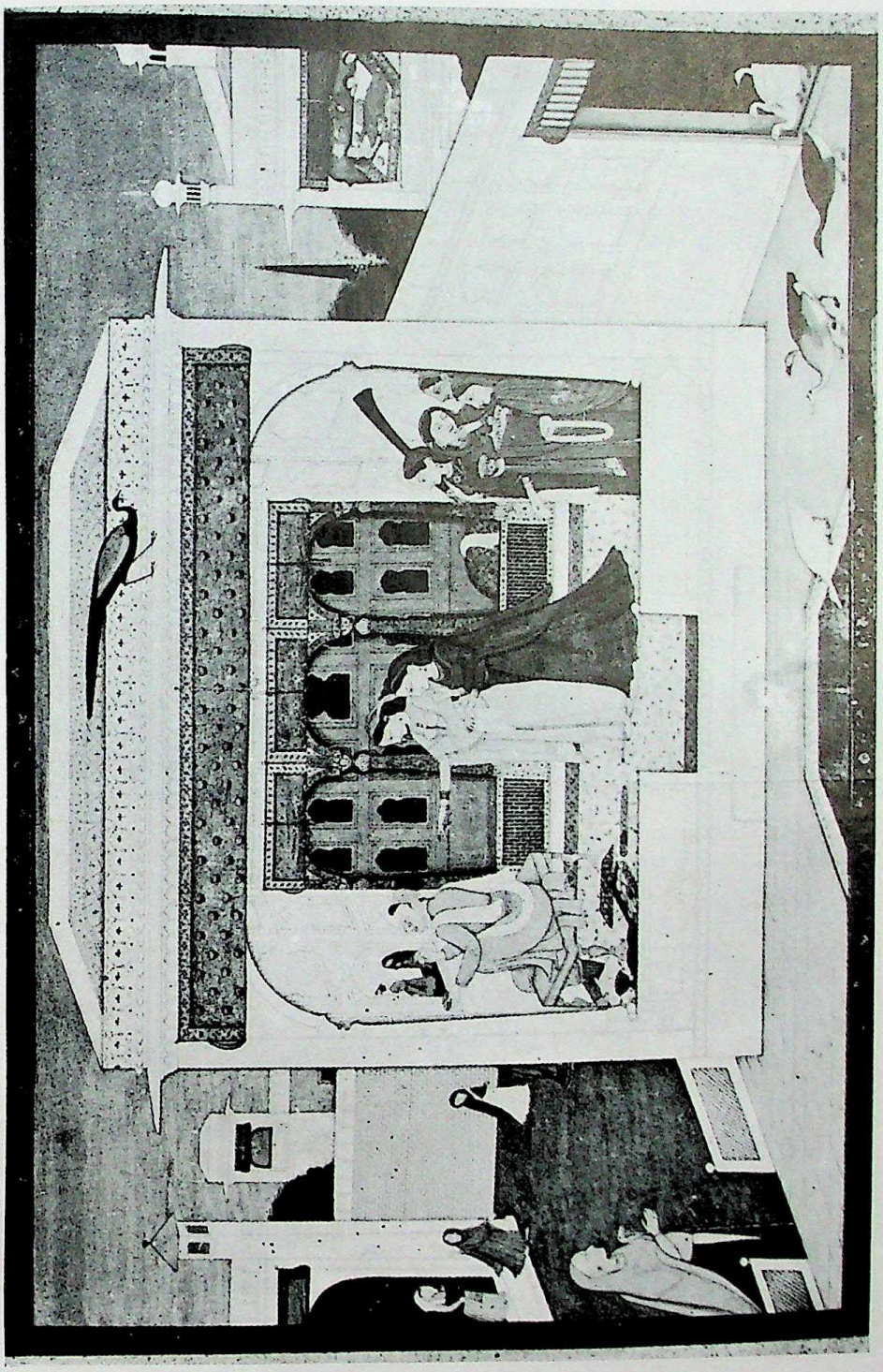

Fig. 125. Painter painting Nala and Damayantī in the palace, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D. Dr. Karan Singh collection.

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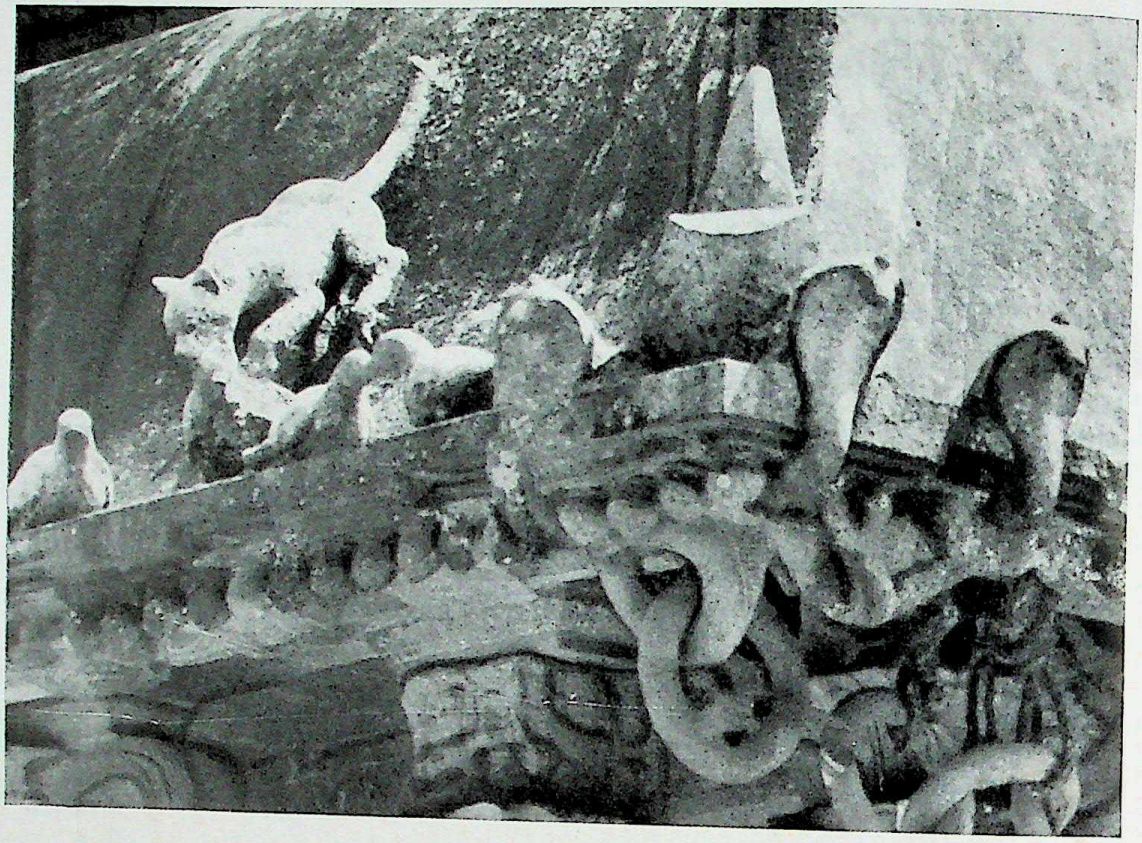

Fig. 126. Carving of the theme of the cat running after carved doves mistaking them for live ones, Vijayanagar, 16th century A.D., Varadarāja temple, Kāñchīpuram.

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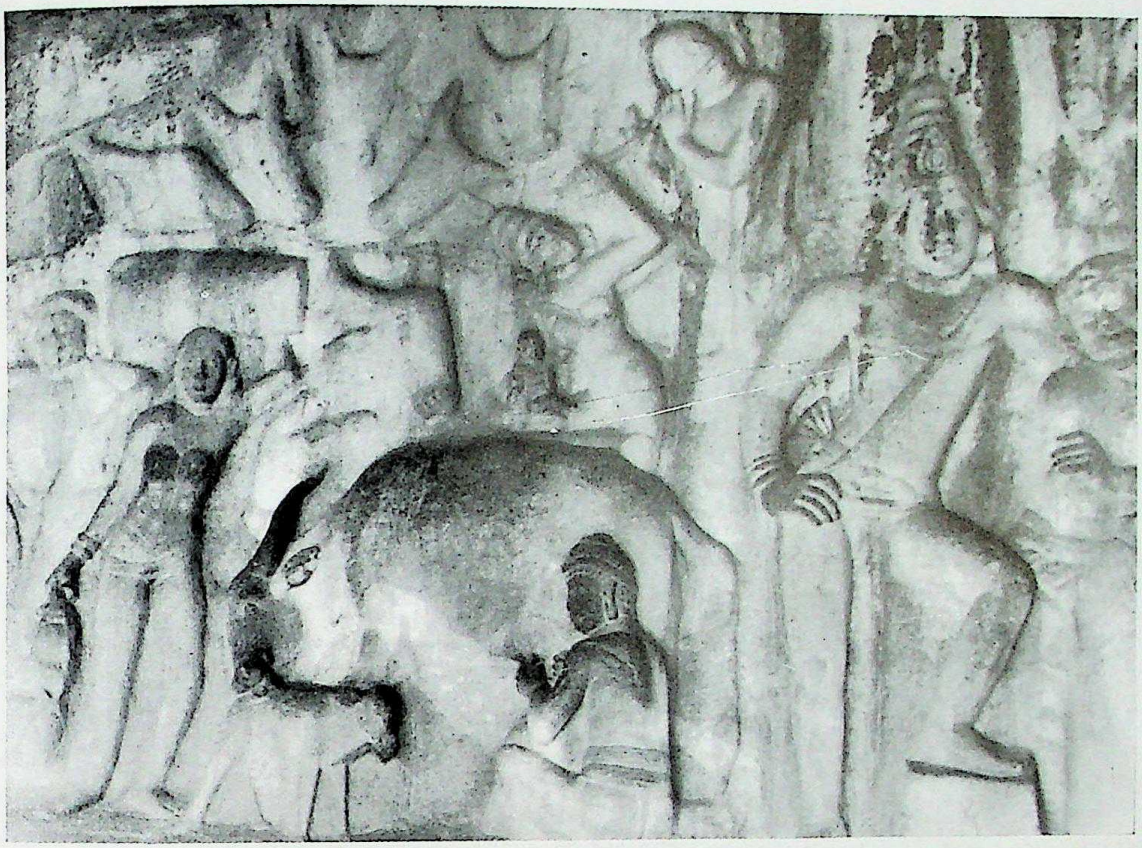

Fig. 127. Milking scene in the Govardhana cave, note the naive natural treatment, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahābalipuram.

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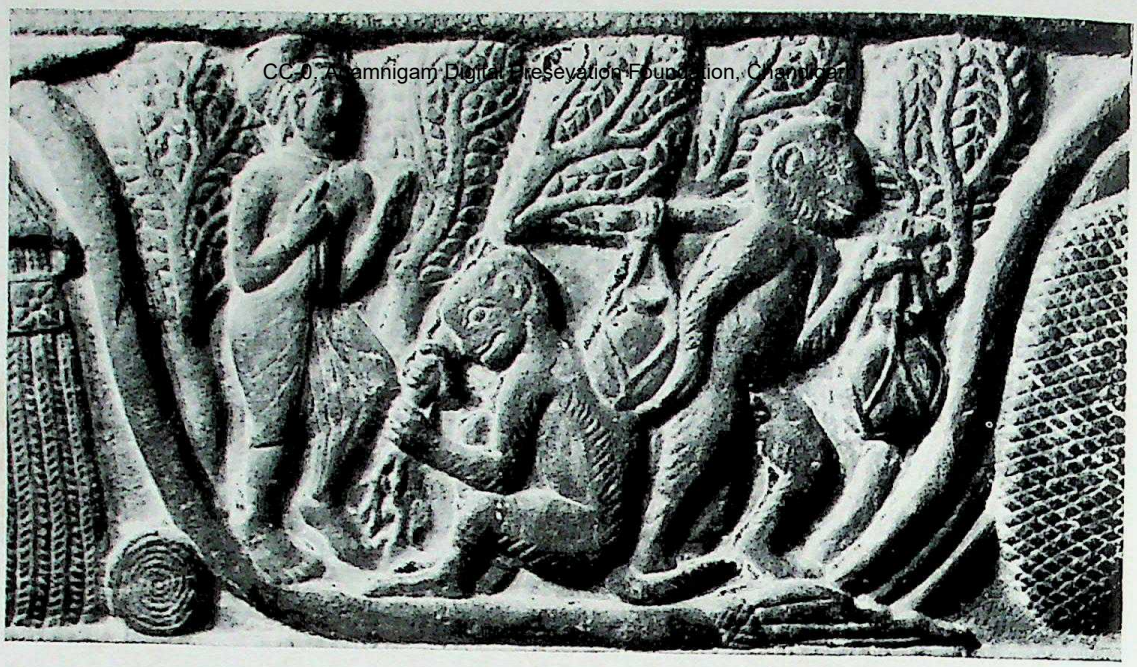

Fig. 128. Ārāmadūsaka *jātaka*, The amusing episode of the good natured monkeys helping the gardener as they imagined they were doing, Śuṅga, 2nd century B.C., Bhārhūt, Indian Museum.

Fig. 129. The return of Kaṇṭaka, note the grief of Śuddhodana and others including the dumb animal, the faithful horse, Kaṇṭaka, Ikshvāku, 2nd century A.D., Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

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Fig. 130. Scene from the Chhaddanta *jātaka*, note the sad death of the queen in the lap of the prince evoking pity, Ikshvāku, 2nd century A.D., Goli, Madras Museum.

Fig. 132. Chāmuṇḍā with scorpion in her stomach suggesting fierce and ravenous hunger, Gāhaḍavāla, 11th century A.D., National Museum.

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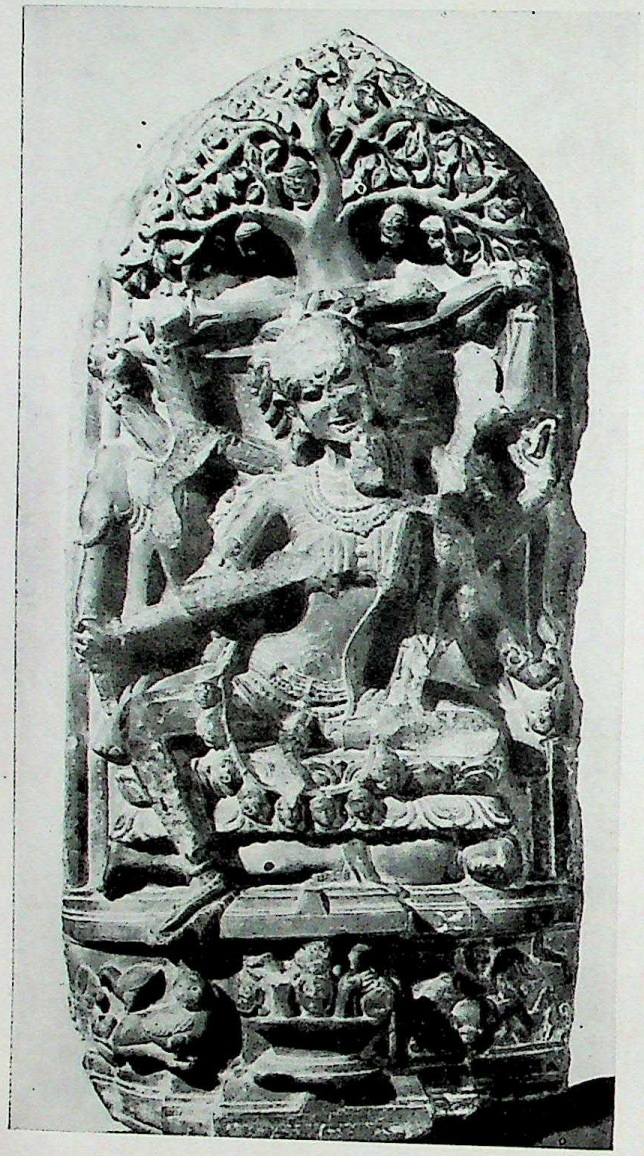
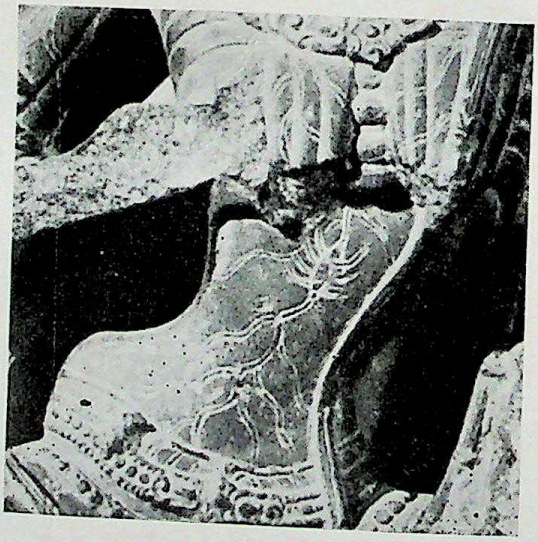


Fig. 131. Chāmuṇḍā with scorpion in her stomach suggesting fierce and ravenous hunger, Pāla, 11th century A.D., National Museum.



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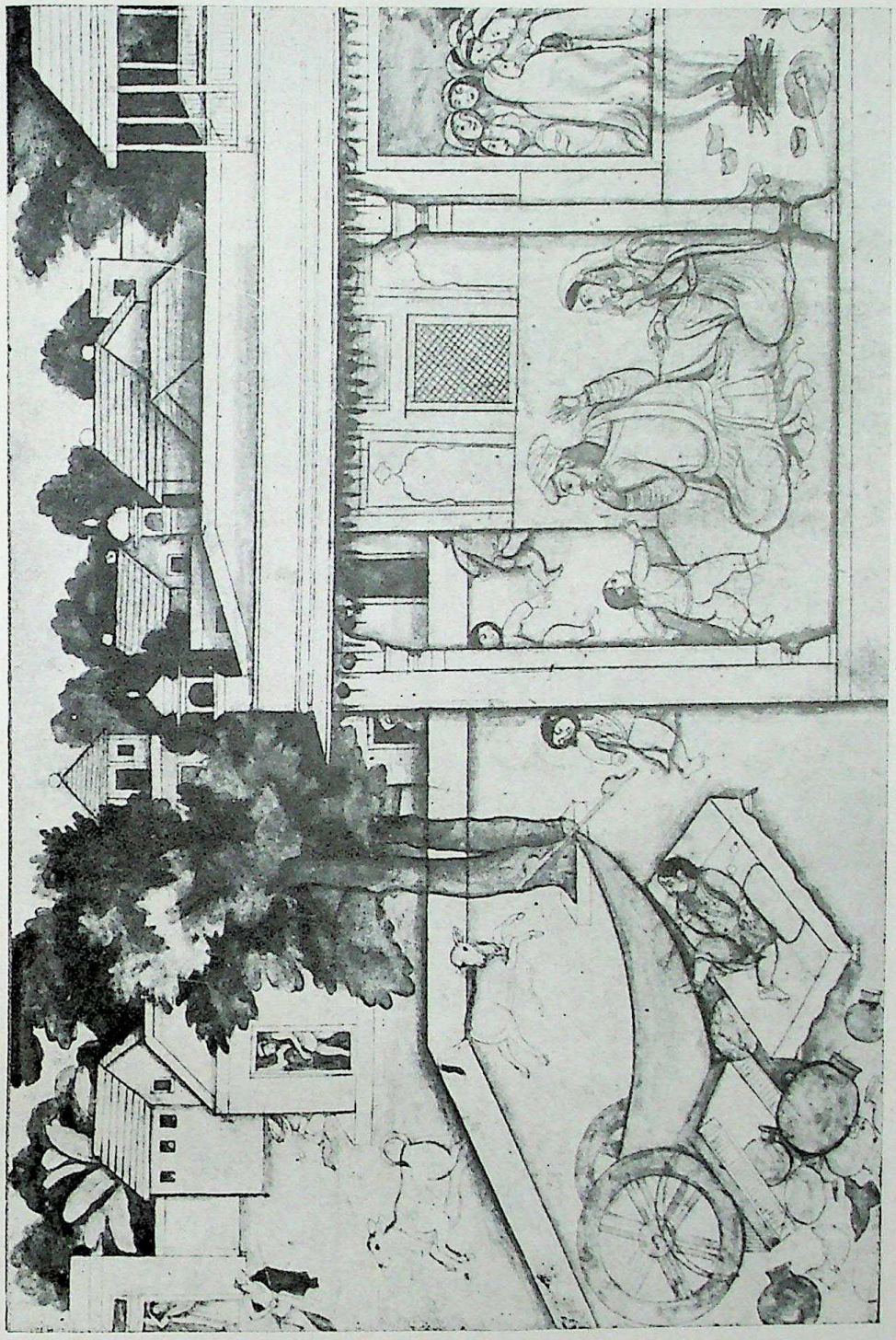

Fig. 133. The Śakaṭāsura episode, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., National Museum.

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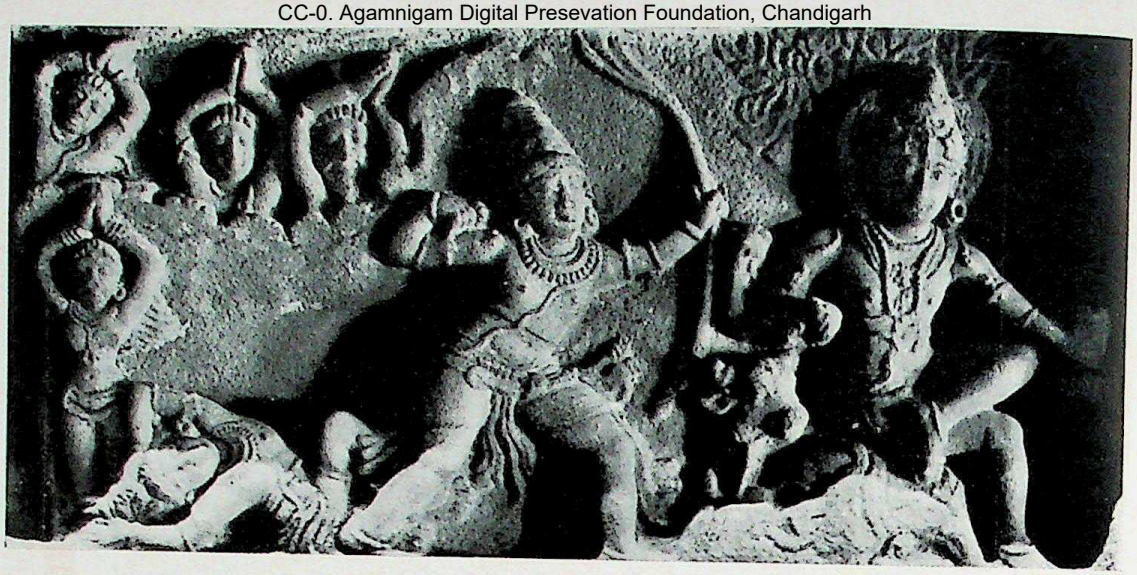
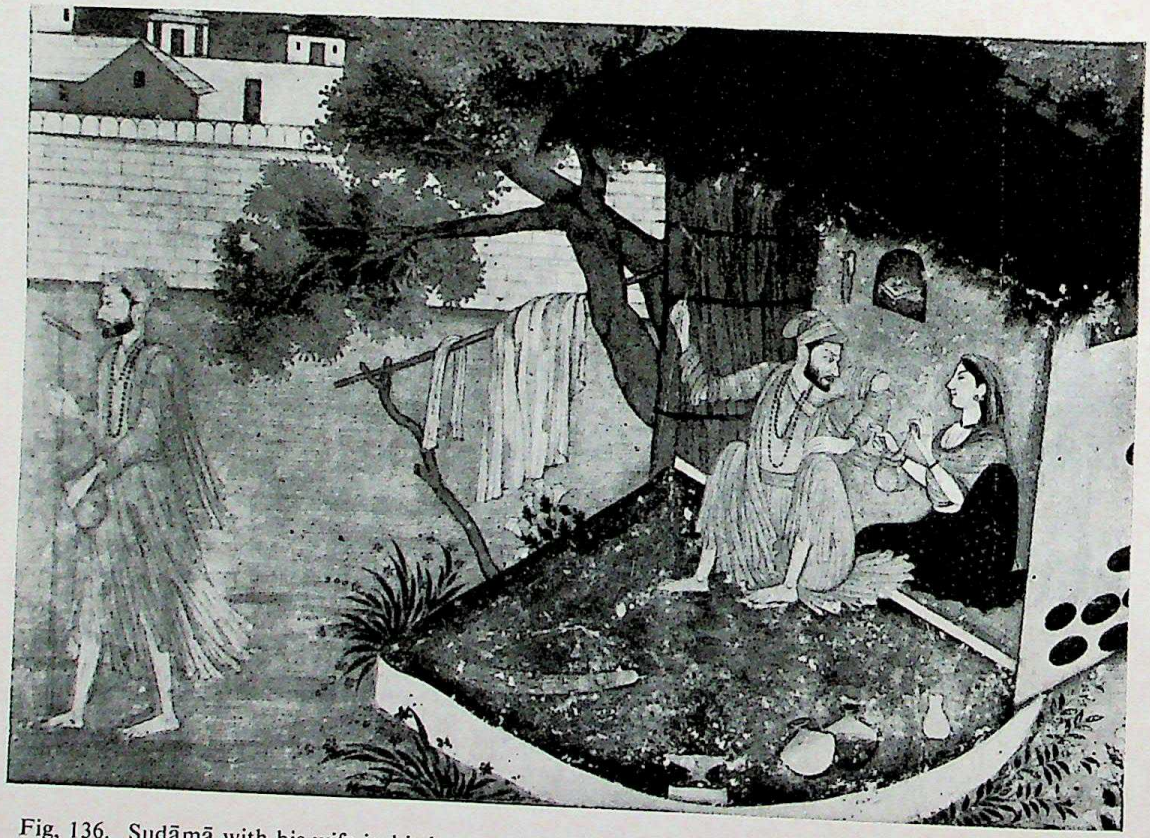


Fig. 134. Madanāntaka, Śiva destroying Kāma, note the *tarjanī* suggesting Śiva's anger, Choḷa, 12th century A.D., Dārāsuram.



Fig, 136. Sudāmā with his wife in his hut, note the abject poverty suggested evoking pity, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṇḍīgarh.

Fig. 135. Tripurāntaka, Śiva destroying the demons of the three impregnable castles, note the fierce and heroic look of Śiva, 1000 A.D., Bṛihadīśvara temple, Tañjāvūr.

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Fig. 137. Rādhā and Kṛishṇa lovingly together unmindful of the rain and clouds, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṇḍīgarh.

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Fig. 138. Awakening Kumbhakarṇa, one of the amusing episodes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* evoking a smile, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṇḍīgarh.

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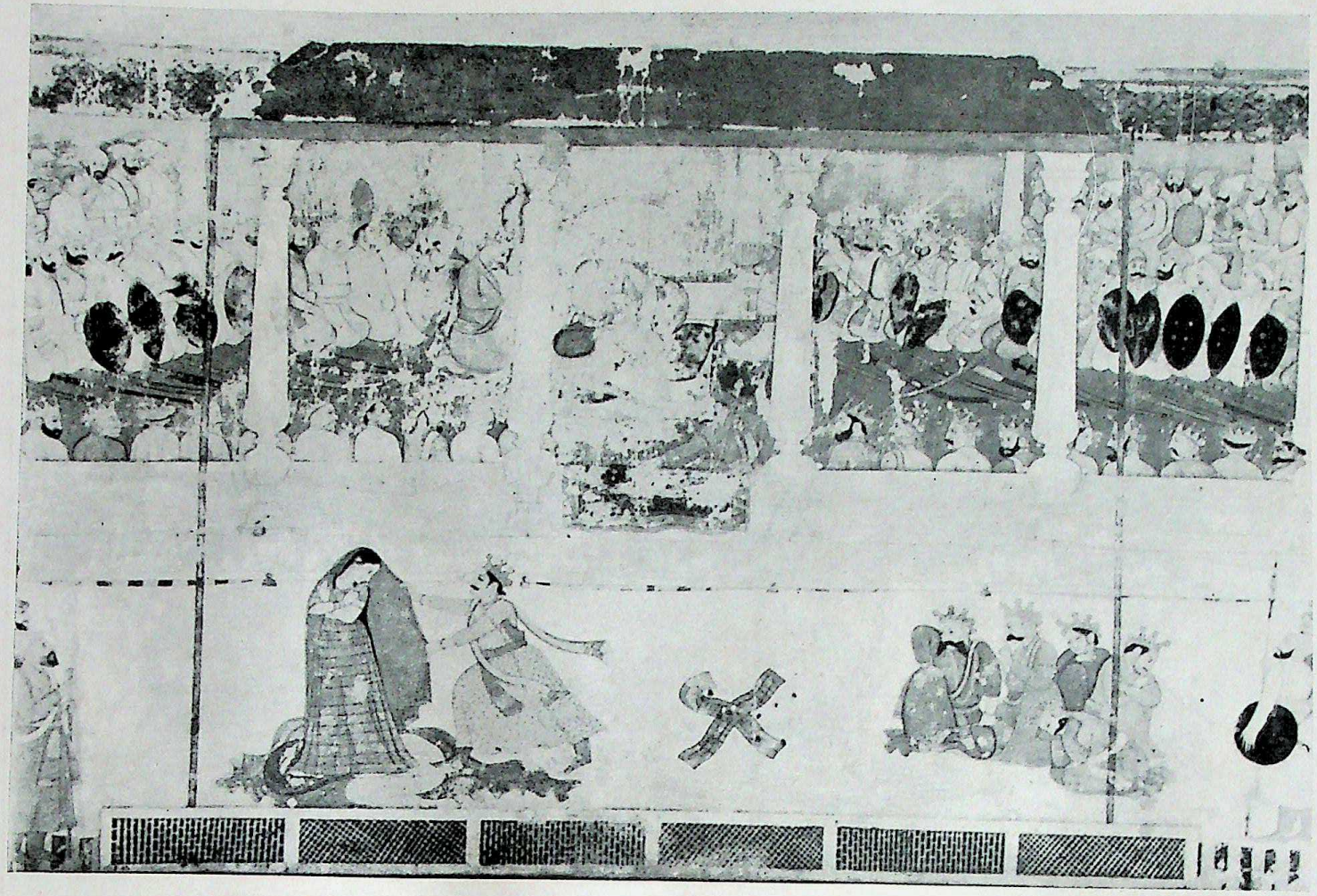

Fig. 139. Unrobing of Draupadī, a revolting situation from the *Mahābhārata*, Kāngrā school, 18th century Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṇḍīgarh.

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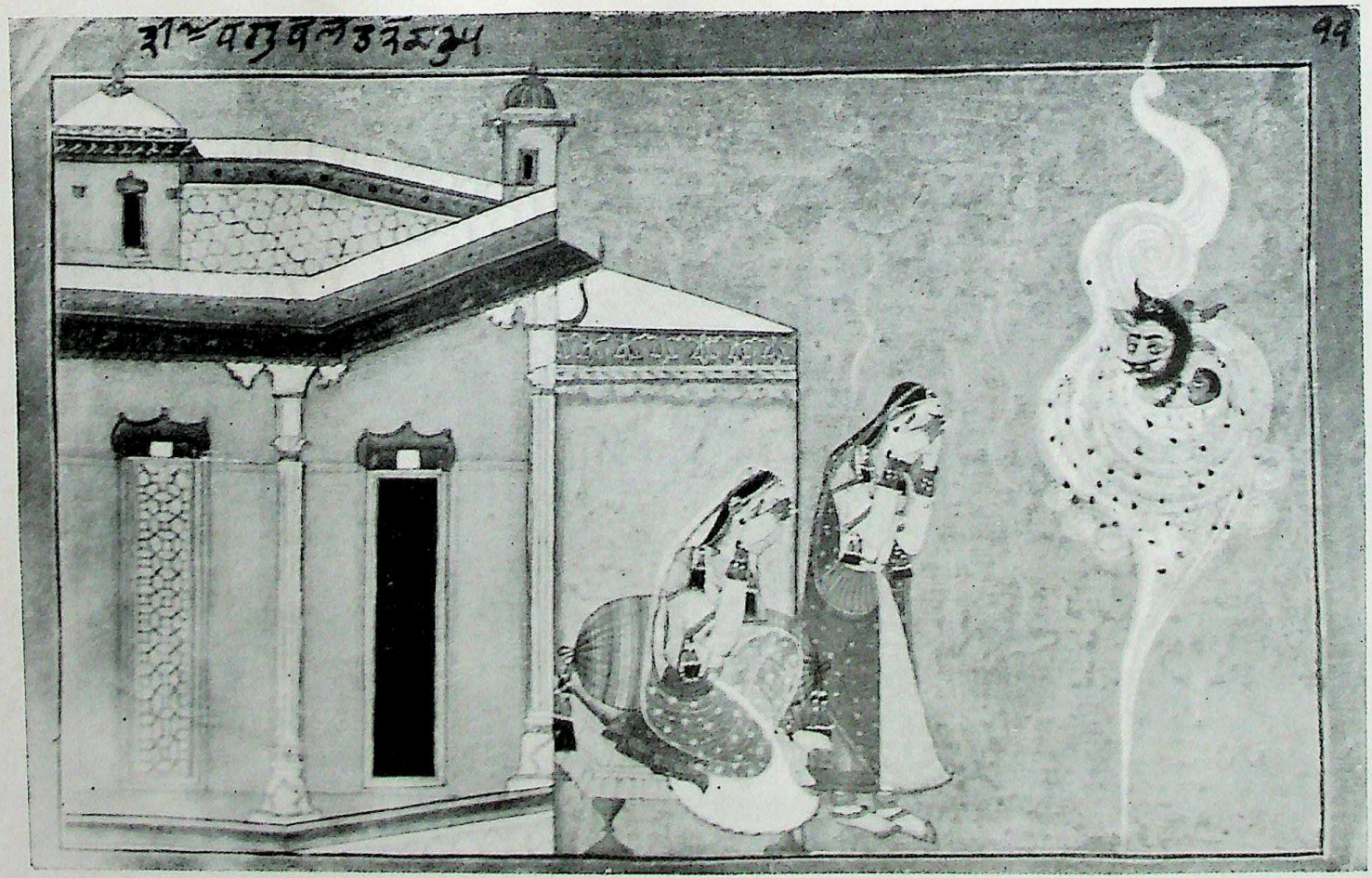

Fig. 140. The Tṛiṇāvarta episode, a sight evoking wonder, Kāngrā school, 18th century, A.D., Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṇḍīgarh.

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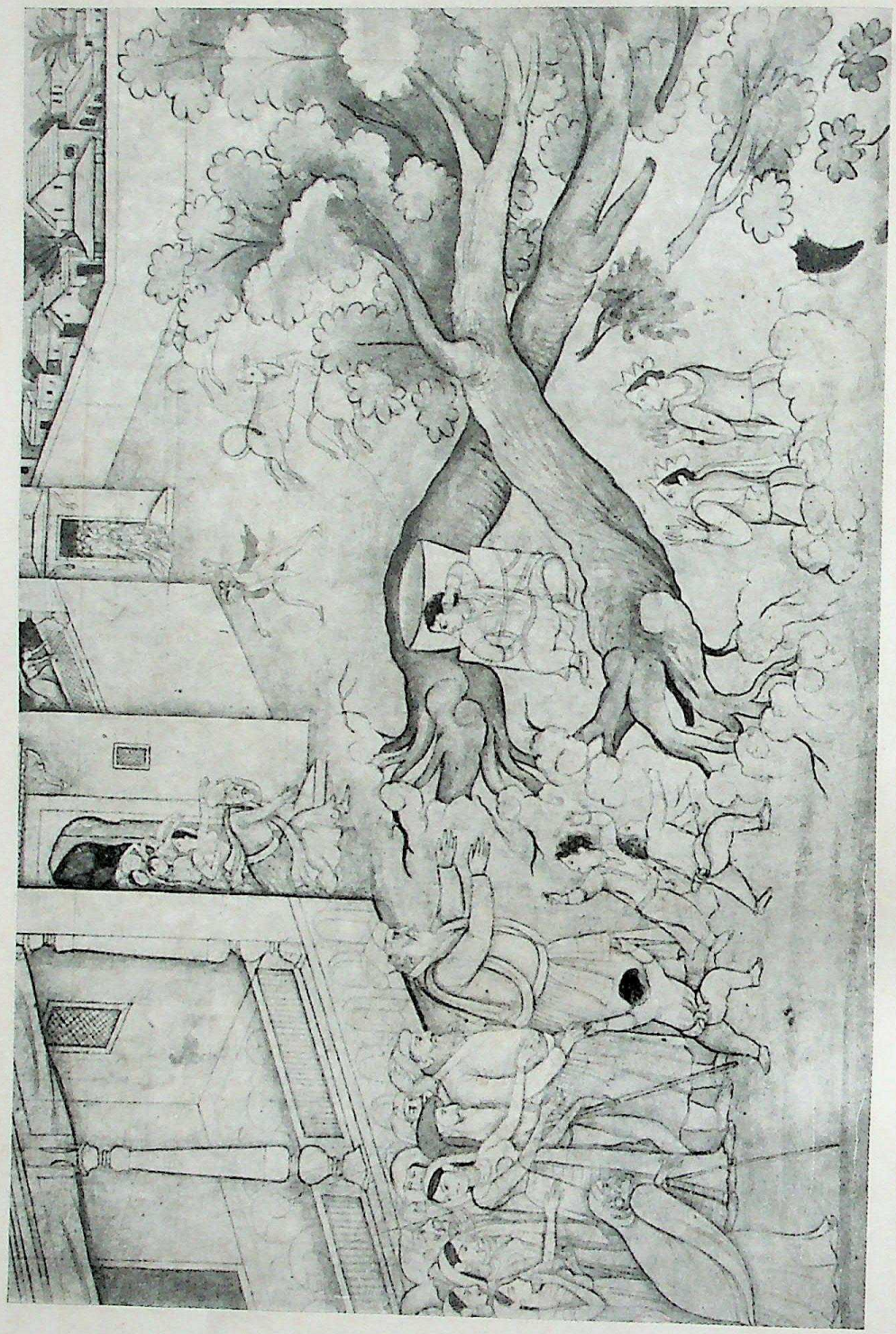

Fig. 141. The *Yamalārjuna* episode, Baby Kṛishṇa uprooting the trees evoking wonder, Kāngrā school, 18th century, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chaṇḍīgarh.

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Dr. C. Sivaramamurti's erudite scholarship in the aesthetics of Indian Fine Arts needs no introduction to those who are interested in the serious study of ancient Indian treatises on art.

The present work brings within its scope a vast field of study. Dr. Sivaramamurti's critical analysis of the techniques and treatment of art in the *Chitrasūtra* (Rules of Painting) of the *Vishṇūdharmottara* will be deemed as a notable contribution to the study of Indian art and aesthetics through the ages.

Through his precise translation, the author has clarified the process of applying metal colours to painting. He has restored in many places of the *Chitrasūtra* the original sense by correcting the text wherever necessary. The author has also suggested a new date for the text that is nearer to the fourth than the third century A.D.

Besides the text and translation of the *Chitrasūtra,* the book contains six chapters dealing with: 1. The Place of Painting among the Fine Arts; 2. The Chitrasūtra and its Date; 3. The Technique of Painting; 4. Classification of Paintings; 5. Conventions in Painting : Pictorial Parlance; 6. Appraisal of Paintings. There is a valuable bibliography. Towards the end there is a fascinating collection of illustrations relevant to the text.

Keeping in view the importance of the text of the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇūdharmottara* as a valuable source-book of the rules of Indian art, this study brings uptodate our understanding of the validity and various aspects of this unique and indispensable treatise on Indian painting.